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SELECT ORATIONS

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO,

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES,

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BY

REV. PETER BULLIONS, D. D.,

LATE PROFESSOR OF LANGUAGES IN THE ALBANY ACADEMY; AUTHOR OF THE  
SERIES OF GRAMMARS, GREEK, LATIN, AND ENGLISH, ON THE  
SAME PLAN; CLASSICAL SERIES, ETC., ETC.

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## P R E F A C E .

This work has been prepared to form one of the series of School Classics in connection with the editor's Latin Grammar. It embraces ten of the best and most admired productions of the Roman Orator, connected with some of the leading events and most distinguished characters in Roman history. The text of eight of these is that of Orelli, now regarded as the best, and is taken with only a very few alterations, mentioned in the notes, from his revised edition. The text of the Oration for Marcellus is that of Klotz, and of the oration for Milo, that of Madvig; for both of which the editor is indebted to the late edition of Prof. Johnson. In all, the modern has been substituted for the antiquated orthography of the German editors. The brackets, used to indicate doubtful readings, have been omitted as useless in a school book. The greatest care has been taken to secure accuracy in the text, and to render the punctuation more full and as accurate as possible. The section numbers are retained, because it is by means of these that references are made, in the excellent Lexicon of E. A. Andrews, lately published.

The objects aimed at in the Notes appended, are: *First*, To keep before the mind of the pupil the train of thought or of argument pursued; for if that is lost sight of, all interest in the subject ceases, and the whole becomes unintelligible or obscure. *Secondly*, To explain the more difficult constructions and idioms, point out the peculiarities and beauties of thought or expression as they occur, and generally to lead the student to understand the text, and appreciate its beauties: and *Thirdly*, To illustrate the subject by such historical, biographical, and archæological notices, as were necessary to explain the text, and to throw light on the numerous allusions to persons and events, doubtless well known to those before whom the orations were delivered, and which must still be known, in order to a proper understanding of the subject.

In carrying out these objects, the design of the editor has been, neither to supersede the labor of the student, and so deprive him of the

benefit and satisfaction of doing his work himself, nor to leave him to struggle almost hopelessly with difficulties which might discourage him in his progress, and which a hint might be sufficient to remove. The proper medium between too much assistance, and too little, has been carefully studied, and, while nothing extraneous has been introduced, nothing has been omitted necessary to enable the student, with proper application on his part, to obtain a critical and thorough knowledge of the construction and meaning of each part, and a clear apprehension of the theme and argument as a whole.

The materials from which the Notes are compiled, have been drawn from many different sources, and, to fit them for the place they now occupy, they have for the most part been so compressed, extended, or modified, as seldom to retain their previous form. Of American authors, acknowledgments are especially due to Dr. Anthon, and, in the latter part of the work, to Prof. Johnson, whose valuable editions of Cicero's Select Orations have been constantly consulted. The general introduction, and also the introduction to most of the Orations, has been taken with but little alteration from the work of Schmitz and Zumpt, prepared for the Classical section of Chambers' Educational Series. From the same work many of the historical illustrations are derived. The translations occasionally given are in general so nearly literal, as to indicate the grammatical construction, and are extended only so far as to give a hint or suggestion at the right time, to set up a guide-board to direct the pupil to the right path, when he might be in danger of losing it, or to show him how to surmount a difficulty, that might retard his progress.

As valuable attainments cannot be made without an intimate and thorough acquaintance with grammatical principles, idioms and peculiar constructions are constantly noted, and reference made for explanation, to the editor's Latin Grammar, and also to that of Andrews and Stoddard, distinguished by the initials B. and A. & S. respectively, as these are in more general use than any other. The references in the notes from one part of the work to another, are plain and easy to be understood.

The editor embraces this opportunity to express his grateful acknowledgments for the favor—far beyond his expectations—with which his elementary works have been received, and to say that no labor or expense will be spared on his part, and he believes also on the part of his publishers, to render them worthy of the patronage they enjoy

## INTRODUCTION.\*

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M. TULLIUS CICERO was born on the 3d of January, B. C. 106, during the consulship of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, at a villa near Arpinum, a municipium in the south-eastern part of Latium. His family was one of the most ancient and noble of the district, and ranked among the Roman equites. The rough warrior C. Marius was a native of the same township as Cicero; and Cn. Pompey was born in the same year.

Cicero received the rudiments of his education in the house of his father, who, far from the bustling turmoil of Rome, in his splendid villa, in a wild and romantic part of the country, devoted his time to study and the education of his sons. As soon as Marcus—who, at an early age, showed extraordinary talents—was sufficiently prepared for the higher branches of study, he was sent to Rome, where his father had a house, and where he devoted himself with zeal, and the most brilliant success, to the study of philosophy and oratory. In these subjects he enjoyed the instructions of the most renowned men of both Rome and Greece. In his sixteenth year he assumed, according to custom, the *toga virilis*, and henceforth became a zealous student of practical eloquence in the Forum; at the same time he pursued the study of the Roman law and of rhetoric with such success, that in his twenty-first year he wrote a work on rhetoric, of which a portion is still extant. The fearful period of civil war between the parties of Marius and Sulla fortunately did not induce him to exchange the *stallium* for the *toga virilis*: he remained faithful to the Muses of rhetoric and philosophy; and thus it happened that, being amply prepared, he entered, in his twenty-sixth year, upon his career as a public orator. He

\* From Schmitz and Zumpt's edition, with little alteration.

distinguished himself in it, almost without interruption, down to his death, displaying his skill and talent in the most varied circumstances, and standing forth as the greatest orator among his contemporaries. His orations—of which fifty-six have come down to us—are the mirror of his political career, and of the most important events of his life, and are at the same time the most brilliant monuments of Latin prose. The fulness and harmony of his thoughts, the masterly manner and clearness with which he handles his subjects, the transparency and variety of forms, the overflowing and brilliant rhetorical diction, and the simple, unaffected narrative—all these qualities excite our admiration, and are found combined in each of his orations; although, according to the opinions of ancient and modern critics, one or other may not have received his last and finishing hand. The extant orations form only the smaller part of his literary productions; we have, besides, a number of rhetorical and philosophical writings—of which it is unnecessary in this place to mention the titles—and an exceedingly rich collection of letters, which to us are the best pragmatistical history of his age, and together with the orations, constitute the most authentic commentary on his life. Cicero himself willingly acknowledges that the Greeks—such as Plato, Demosthenes, and their great poets and historians—were his instructors and superiors; and his incessant study of the master-works of the Greeks has unmistakably stamped upon his own writings the impress of universality and greatness—nay, in his orations he has perhaps even surpassed his models.

The Orations in this collection are among the most finished and beautiful that Cicero ever delivered, and refer to some of the most important events in the history of his time. They furnish a fair specimen of his extraordinary powers as an orator, and are a proof that the author, as a man, is deserving of the highest praise that can be bestowed upon human exertions, and that, amid all the evils and temptations by which he was surrounded, he maintained his character pure and undefiled.

Soon after his first public appearance as an orator, and after he had already acquired a name and reputation, he left Rome on the advice of his friends; and for the purpose of strengthening his health, travelled through Greece and Asia Minor, where he formed acquaintances and friendships with the most celebrated rhetoricians and philosophers. On his return he offered himself as a candidate for the quæstorship; and at the age of thirty, B. C. 75, went as quæstor to Lilybæum in Sicily, under the prætor Sex. Peducæus. In the year B. C. 69, Cicero obtained the ædileship; and three years later, B. C. 66, he was prætor urbanus. While invested with this office, he delivered, among other speeches, the splendid oration for the Manilian bill (*pro lege Manilia*). The veneration for Pompey which he

showed on that occasion was entertained by him throughout his life. Having Cæsar before his eyes, he could not but look upon Pompey as the pillar of the republic and the old aristocracy; but whether he was right in so doing, is a question which, considering the historical facts of the case, it is difficult to decide. Pompey was no less ambitious and anxious to obtain power than his great opponent, and his defeat could raise him only in the eyes of one who was an enthusiastic admirer of the ancient forms of the republic.

In B. C. 63, when he was forty-three years old, Cicero obtained the consulship; and that year forms the acme of his political activity. The discovery and suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy procured for him the gratitude of all well-disposed Romans, and the love of the people; but at the same time drew upon him the hatred of many of the nobles. In his speeches against Catiline, Cicero often alludes to the secret friends of Catiline, and to the dangers to which he was exposing himself by his resolutely combating the conspirators. His apprehensions became speedily realized; for a few years later, he was crushed by the intrigues of the tribune P. Clodius, who, favored even by Cæsar, accused him of having, in his consulship, caused Roman citizens (the accomplices of Catiline) to be put to death, contrary to law, and without a trial; and who, in spite of the reluctance of the people, caused—in conjunction with the consuls L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius—Cicero to be exiled, B. C. 58, having previously carried a law by which these proceedings became legalized. During his exile, Cicero resided at Thessalonica with the quæstor Cn. Plancius; but he returned after an absence of sixteen months; and the hearty welcome which he met with was a compensation and consolation for the wrong he had suffered.

The history of the years which then followed is best illustrated by his letters; they show how he watched the steps of Cæsar, and how he judged of the course of events. His attaching himself more and more closely to the party of Pompey was no more than consistent. After the death of M. Crassus, who had fallen in the war against the Parthians, Cicero, by the unanimous desire of the augurs, became a member of their college, a dignity to which only the first and most tried men of the republic were admitted. Two years after this he also displayed his talents as a military commander; for having obtained the proconsular administration of the province of Cilicia, he defended that country so successfully against the attacks of the Parthians, that after he had defeated the enemy in a decisive battle at the foot of Mount Amanus, his soldiers saluted him with the title of *imperator*. This happened B. C. 51, and the senate honored him on his return with a triumph.

During the distressing years of the civil war between J. Cæsar and Cn. Pompey which now followed, Cicero indeed sometimes appears uncertain what to do; but his conduct is never equivocal. He remained faithful to the cause of Pompey; and at first entertained the hope that the party to which he belonged would come forth victorious from the struggle. Before the commencement of the decisive contest, he endeavored to reconcile the two great antagonists with each other; but at last, when every hope of preserving peace had disappeared, he followed his friend Pompey to Greece. It was in vain that many of his most distinguished and well-meaning friends cautioned him against an act of open hostility to Cæsar; for he remained firm and determined. He did not, however, take any part in the battle of Pharsalus, B. C. 48; and as soon as he was informed of the unfortunate issue of the contest, and of the flight of Pompey, he returned to Italy, and remained for a time at Brundisium. Cæsar himself had requested him, through Dolabella, to return. Subsequently Cicero repented of this step, and endeavored to excuse himself before his friends for this separation from Pompey. Meanwhile Cæsar continued his victorious career, having sent M. Antony to Italy to watch his interests at Rome. Antony, who met Cicero at Brundisium, spared the partisan of Pompey, though probably not of his own accord. From Brundisium Cicero betook himself to his villa near Tusculum. Soon after he returned to Rome; and although he did not lose sight of the events which took place at the time, he sought comfort and relaxation among his old and faithful friends—his books.

Towards the end of July, B. C. 47, the victorious dictator, J. Cæsar, returned to Rome from his wars in Egypt and Asia, and showed himself forgiving and kind towards Cicero. Cæsar's clemency is praised by Cicero in the two orations for Ligarius and King Deiotarus, both of which belong to this period, B. C. 46 and 45. The glowing admiration—nay, deification of Cæsar—in these orations, is not the adulation of a calculating rhetorician; for Cicero, as well as his contemporaries, knew Cæsar's greatness as a general, his extraordinary acquirements, and intellectual superiority; but he detested his unmeasured love of dominion; he hated the tyrant. He unreservedly expressed his joy at the murder of Cæsar; nor did he afterwards conceal it before M. Antony, Cæsar's successor; and his Philippics furnish an eloquent testimony of his unalterable aversion against the enemies of the republic. Every enemy of M. Antony was welcome to him, the hatred against whom made him an ardent admirer of Cæsar Octavianus, who, from the first, pursued the same course to which Cæsar had fallen a victim. But this same young man, whom he had looked upon as the brightest hope, and as the saving anchor of the republic, concluded



peace and friendship with Cicero's bitterest enemy; and to the alliance between these two Cicero fell a sacrifice, along with the noblest of the senators. The aged orator happened to be staying at his villa near Tusculum, when he was informed of the proscription, containing the names of seventeen senators, and among them those of himself and his brother Quintus. He determined to take to flight; and from his villa of Astura, on the sea-coast, he embarked on board a ship, but was detained by contrary winds: at length, having proceeded as far as Caieta (Gaeta), he landed in order to take rest in his villa near Formiæ. But no sooner had he arrived there than he learned that the place was surrounded by soldiers: he fled towards the coast, but was overtaken by the emissaries. The servants who accompanied him offered to defend him, but Cicero forbade it: he ordered the sedan-chair in which he was carried to be put down, and calmly looked at the murderers who were rushing towards him. They were led on by Popilius Lænas, whose life had been once saved by Cicero in a criminal accusation. Cicero stretched forth his neck as far as he could from the lectica, and bade them accomplish their work, and take what they were seeking. They cut off his head and both hands; and Popilius Lænas hastened to Rome to carry the welcome present to Antony, and received his reward. Antony ordered the head to be nailed to the rostra between the hands: this was his answer to the *Philippics*!

Thus died Cicero, on the 7th of December, B. C. 43, ten days after the establishment of the triumvirate of Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus, towards the end of the sixty-fourth year of his life.

His fertility as an author during the later years of his life is truly astonishing; nearly all his philosophical writings were composed in the years B. C. 45 and 44, and the latter of them especially was at once the most fruitful and important. It was this uninterrupted occupation with the loftiest and noblest questions of human life, that gave him the strength and calmness with which he calmly looked death in the face.

Cicero was of a tall, thin figure; his neck was particularly long; his features regular and manly, and the expression of his countenance dignified and winning. His bodily constitution was naturally weak; but by a well-regulated mode of life, he had so strengthened it, that he bore with ease the exertions of a public orator, and of an unwearied student, down to his old age. In his domestic life he was amiable towards every body, indulgent towards his children, kind to his friends, and generous towards his slaves. His domestic establishment was splendid, and his house was the resort of all the distinguished men of the age. During the morning, until ten o'clock, he received visitors; and during the day he worked in his library;

the evening was the time for the principal meal and for company. When in the circle of his friends, he was always cheerful, and particularly witty: his sarcasms were celebrated throughout Rome; and Cæsar himself is said to have requested that they should be collected and recorded. After Cicero's death, his freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, made a complete collection of his witty and humorous sayings in three books, which are unfortunately lost.

The splendor and variety of his life was heightened by the number of his magnificent villas, in which, notwithstanding the contempt of works of art which he feigns in the speeches against Verres, he testified in the noblest manner his taste and love of the beauties of nature. Most of them were situated on the most exquisite spots, near the beautiful coasts of Campania and Latium; and they were adorned with the finest sculptures of Greek workmanship, and with the most elegant and tasteful furniture. The large sums which Cicero spent upon the erection and embellishment of these villas, were acquired especially by the numerous and rich legacies which were left to him by friends and clients during the period of his public career; for it was customary at Rome for grateful clients to leave to their patrons a portion of their property, as a token of their gratitude; and to receive such legacies was thought highly honorable. His delight in building, however, as we know from his letters, sometimes led him beyond his means, which obliged him afterwards to economize.

Cicero's love of splendor, though in all the relations of life he was dignified, moderate, and of a strictly moral purity, is nearly akin to his manifest desire to win applause, recognition, and fame. His enemies ridiculed his vanity; but many did not understand that it would have been something superhuman not to feel exalted by the consciousness of his own worth, considering his extraordinary talents, and what he had accomplished. Cicero did not indeed detract from his own merits, nor did he conceal them; but he never exaggerated them.

The family relations of our author were at first happy. In his letters he speaks with great affection of his wife Terentia and his daughter Tullia; but in B. C. 45, his daughter Tullia died, and he divorced his wife. His son Marcus, who survived him for many years, was not worthy of his great father.

We cannot conclude this brief outline without mentioning M. Tullius Tiro, the freedman and friend of Cicero, who arranged the literary remains of his illustrious friend with skill and learning. A large number of Cicero's works has come down to our time; but we have yet to lament the irreparable loss of several orations and theoretical works; for none of the productions of a mind like Cicero's can be looked upon with indifference.

ORATIONS.



I N

# L. C A T I L I N A M

## ORATIO PRIMA

### HABITA IN SENATU.



I. 1. <sup>1</sup>QUOUSQUE tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quamdiu etiam <sup>2</sup>furor iste tuus nos <sup>3</sup>eludet? <sup>4</sup>Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? <sup>5</sup>Nihilne te <sup>6</sup>nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil <sup>7</sup>urbis vigiliae, nihil <sup>8</sup>timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus <sup>9</sup>habendi senatus locus, nihil horum <sup>10</sup>ora, vultusque moverunt? <sup>11</sup>Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam horum omnium conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid <sup>12</sup>proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? 2. O tempora! O mores! Senatus haec intelligit, consul videt: <sup>13</sup>hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit: fit publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, <sup>14</sup>viri fortes, satisfacere rei publicae videmur, si <sup>15</sup>istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis jampridem oportebat; in te conferri <sup>16</sup>pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris. 3. <sup>17</sup>An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum <sup>18</sup>mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendio vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus?

<sup>19</sup> Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala, Sp. Mælium novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit <sup>20</sup> ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciiis civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. <sup>21</sup> Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest <sup>22</sup> rei publicæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

II. 4. Decrevit <sup>1</sup> quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus <sup>2</sup> clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus; occisus est cum liberis <sup>3</sup> M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto <sup>4</sup> C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica. Num unum diem postea <sup>5</sup> L. Saturninum tribunum plebis, et C. Servilium prætorem mors ac rei publicæ pœna remorata est? At vero nos <sup>6</sup> vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatus consultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatus consulto <sup>7</sup> confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, <sup>8</sup> Patres conscripti, me esse clementem; cupio in tantis rei publicæ periculis me non <sup>9</sup> dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipsum inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. 5. Castra sunt in Italia contra rem publicam in <sup>10</sup> Etruriæ faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem castrorum imperatorem, ducemque hostium intra mœnia atque adeo in senatu videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem rei publicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interficij jussero: <sup>11</sup> credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse oportuit, <sup>12</sup> certa de causa nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, quum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam <sup>13</sup> tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. 6. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis præsiidiis obses-

sus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus <sup>1</sup> nefarios, nec <sup>2</sup> privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis tuæ potest? Si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam <sup>3</sup> istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere cædis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quæ jam mecum licet recognoscas. 7. Meministine me <sup>4</sup> ante diem XII. Kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Kal. Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciæ <sup>5</sup> satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi <sup>6</sup> ego idem in senatu, cædem <sup>7</sup> te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Kalendas Novembres, tum, quum multi principes civitatis Roma, non tam sui conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Nun infitiani potes te illo ipso die meis præsiidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, quum tu, discessu ceterorum, <sup>8</sup> nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas? 8. <sup>9</sup> Quid? quum tu te Prænceste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres: sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu, meis præsiidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego <sup>10</sup> non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce tandem mecum <sup>1</sup> noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicæ. Dico te priore nocte venisse <sup>2</sup> inter falcarios (non agam obscure), in M. Læcæ domum: convenisse code a <sup>3</sup> complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negas <sup>4</sup> audes? Quid taces? <sup>4</sup> Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. 9. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? Quam rem publicam habemus? In qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt, nostro in numero Patres

conscripti, in hoc orbis terræ <sup>5</sup> sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, <sup>6</sup> qui de hujus urbis atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, <sup>7</sup> et de re publica sententiam rogo! Et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero! Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illa nocte, Catilina: <sup>8</sup> distribuisti partes Italiæ: statuisti, quo quemque proficisci placeret: delegisti, <sup>9</sup> quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres; descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia; <sup>10</sup> confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum; dixisti paullulum tibi esse etiam nunc moræ, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt <sup>11</sup> duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse policerentur. 10. Hæc ego omnia, vixdum etiam cœtu vestro dimisso, <sup>12</sup> comperi: domum meam majoribus præsiidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane <sup>13</sup> ad me salutatum miseras, quum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram.

V. <sup>1</sup> Quæ quum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo cœpisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem <sup>2</sup> tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: <sup>3</sup> si minus, quam plurimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te <sup>4</sup> murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. 11. <sup>5</sup> Magna diis immortalibus habenda est, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicæ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius <sup>6</sup> in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicæ. Quamdiu mihi <sup>7</sup> consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Quum <sup>8</sup> proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo, et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique, quotiescunque me <sup>9</sup> petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicæ esse conjunctam. <sup>10</sup> Nunc jam



aperte rem publicam universam petis: templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas.

12. Quare, quoniam <sup>11</sup> id, quod est primum, et quod hujus imperii disciplinæque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (<sup>12</sup> quod te jamdudum hortor) exieris, <sup>13</sup> exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicæ. 13. <sup>14</sup> Quid est, Catilina? Num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium? Non jubeo: sed <sup>15</sup> si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. <sup>1</sup> Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? <sup>2</sup> In qua nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis <sup>3</sup> non inusta vitæ tuæ est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non hæret infamiæ? Quæ libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem prætulisti? 14. <sup>4</sup> Quid vero? Nuper, <sup>5</sup> quum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego prætermitto, et facile patior sileri; ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse, aut non vindicata esse videatur. Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus <sup>6</sup> senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salute nque pertinent. 15. Potestne tibi hæc lux, Catilina, aut hujus cæli spiritus esse jucundus, quum scias <sup>7</sup> horum esse neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Januarias, Lepido et Tullo consulibus, stetisse in comitio eum telo? Manum, consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa, paravisse? Sceleri ac

furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? <sup>8</sup>Ac jam illa omitto (neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa post commissa): quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! Quod ego tuas <sup>9</sup>petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! <sup>10</sup>Nihil agis, nihil assequeris, nihil moliris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis.

16. Quotiens tibi jam extorta est siea ista de manibus! Quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! Tamen ea carere diutius non potes: <sup>11</sup>quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero, quæ tua est ista vita? <sup>1</sup>Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paullo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis <sup>2</sup>amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, <sup>3</sup>vocis exspectas contumeliam, quum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? <sup>4</sup>Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas?

17. Servi mehercule mei si me <sup>5</sup>isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquentiam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et, si me meis civibus <sup>6</sup>injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me adspectu civium, quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallet: tu, quum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est omnium nostrum parens, odit ac metuit, <sup>7</sup>et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, nec iudicium sequere, nec vim pertimesces?

18. <sup>8</sup>Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodam

modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum <sup>9</sup>impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quæstiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. <sup>10</sup>Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: <sup>11</sup>nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."

VIII. 19. Hæc si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, <sup>1</sup>nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? <sup>2</sup>Quid, quod tu te ipse in eustodiam dedisti? quod vitandæ suspicionis causa ad M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es, atque, ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti. Quum a me quoque id responsi tulisses, me nullo modo posse <sup>3</sup>iisdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur, ad <sup>4</sup>Q. Metellum prætorem venisti. A quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, <sup>5</sup>virum optimum, M. Marcellum demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui <sup>6</sup>se ipse jam dignum custodia iudicavit? 20. Quæ quum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori æquo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?

<sup>7</sup>"Refer, inquis, ad senatum:" id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exilium, obtemperatum te esse dicis. <sup>8</sup>Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus: sed tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rem publicam metu: in exilium, si hanc vocem expectas, proficiscere. <sup>9</sup>Quid est, Catilina? Ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent.

<sup>10</sup> Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicias? 21. At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, <sup>11</sup> P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello dixissem, jam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo, senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, quum quiescunt, probant, quum patiuntur, decernunt, quum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est <sup>12</sup> videlicet cara, vita vilissima: sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, <sup>13</sup> quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, <sup>14</sup> ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. 22. <sup>1</sup> Quamquam quid loquor? <sup>2</sup> Te ut ulla res frangat? Tu ut unquam te corrigas? Tu ut ullam fugam meditare? Tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales <sup>3</sup> dñint! <sup>4</sup> Tamesti video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minus in præsens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. <sup>5</sup> Sed est tanti; dummodo ista privata sit calamitas, et a rei publicæ periculis sejungatur. <sup>6</sup> Sed tu ut vitiiis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum. <sup>7</sup> Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore revocarit. 23. Quamobrem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, <sup>8</sup> recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem <sup>9</sup> servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Manlium; concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis, infer patriæ bellum; exsulta <sup>10</sup> impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. 24. <sup>11</sup> Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati? <sup>12</sup> Cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio

diem? <sup>13</sup>A quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido ac funestam futuram, <sup>14</sup>cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? <sup>15</sup>Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad cædem proficiscens solebas? a cuius altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. 25. <sup>1</sup>Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jampridem tua ista cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque <sup>2</sup>enim tibi hæc res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. <sup>3</sup>Nactus es ex perditis, atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis, conflata improborum manum. 26. <sup>4</sup>Hic tu qua lætitia perfruere? Quibus gaudiis exsultabis? Quanta in voluptate bacchabere, quum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis? <sup>5</sup>Ad hujus vitæ studium meditati sunt illi, qui feruntur, labores tui: <sup>6</sup>jacere humi, non modo ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. <sup>7</sup>Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. 27. Tantum profectum, <sup>8</sup>quum te a consulatu repuli, <sup>9</sup>ut exsul potius tentare, quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

XI. <sup>1</sup>Nunc, <sup>2</sup>ut a me, Patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, <sup>3</sup>si mecum patria, quæ mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: <sup>4</sup>“M. Tulli, quid agis? <sup>5</sup>Tunc eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, <sup>6</sup>evocatore servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te <sup>7</sup>non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne

hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio  
<sup>6</sup>mactari imperabis? 28. Quid tandem te impedit? <sup>9</sup>Mosne  
 majorum? At persæpe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos  
 cives morte multarunt. <sup>10</sup>An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum  
 supplicio rogatæ sunt? At nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re  
 publica defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An <sup>11</sup>invidiam posteritatis  
 times? <sup>12</sup>Præclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam,  
 qui te hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum  
<sup>13</sup>tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus  
 extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem  
 civium tuorum negligis. 29. Sed, si quis est invidiæ metus, num  
 est vehementius <sup>14</sup>severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia, quam inertiae  
 ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An quum bello vastabitur Italia,  
 vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, <sup>15</sup>tum te non existimas invidiæ  
 incendio conflagaturum?"

XII. <sup>1</sup>His ego sanctissimis rei publicæ vocibus, et eorum  
 hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo.  
 Ego, <sup>2</sup>si hoc optimum factu judicarem, Patres conscripti, Catilinam  
 morte multari, <sup>3</sup>unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum  
 non dedissem. <sup>4</sup>Etenim, si summi viri et clarissimi cives, Saturnini  
 et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non  
 modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum  
 mihi non erat, <sup>5</sup>ne quid, hoc parricida civium interfecto, invidiæ  
 mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi <sup>6</sup>maxime  
 impenderet, tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam  
 gloriam, non invidiam putarem. 30. Quamquam <sup>7</sup>nonnulli  
 sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminent, non videant, aut  
 ea, quæ vident, dissimulent: qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis  
 aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt:  
<sup>8</sup>quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam  
 imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse  
 dicerent. <sup>9</sup>Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra  
 pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, <sup>9</sup>qui non videat conjurationem esse  
 factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno  
 interfecto, <sup>10</sup>intelligo hanc rei pub-

licæ pestem paullisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. <sup>11</sup>Quod si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit, exstinguetur atque deletur non modo <sup>12</sup>hæc tam adulta rei publicæ pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. 31. <sup>1</sup>Etenim jamdiu, Patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur; sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulationis tempus erupit. Quod si ex <sup>2</sup>tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus <sup>3</sup>in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, quum <sup>4</sup>æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afficiantur; sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus <sup>5</sup>istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. 32. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod sæpe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, <sup>6</sup>circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cujusque, <sup>7</sup>quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, Patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinæ profectio <sup>8</sup>omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

33. <sup>9</sup>Hisce omnibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicæ salute, et cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. <sup>10</sup>Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem, quibus hæc urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem <sup>11</sup>Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac mœnibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis: et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ, scelerum fœdere <sup>12</sup>inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos, æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO SECUNDA,

AD QUIRITES.



I. 1. <sup>1</sup>TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem <sup>2</sup>verbis prosecuti sumus. <sup>3</sup>Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem <sup>4</sup>sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra <sup>5</sup>sica illa versabitur: non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. <sup>6</sup>Loco ille motus est, quum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediēte, bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, quum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. 2. <sup>7</sup>Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto tandem illum mœrore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratusque est, et se <sup>8</sup>perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et <sup>9</sup>retorquet oculos profecto sæpe ad hanc urbem,



quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget; quæ quidem mihi lætari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecerit.

II. 3. At si quis est <sup>1</sup>talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emiserim: <sup>2</sup>non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum jampridem oportebat: idque a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et res publica postulabat. <sup>3</sup>Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? Quam multos, qui <sup>4</sup>propter stultitiam non putarent? Quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? Quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent? <sup>5</sup>Ac si, illo sublato, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiæ meæ, verum etiam vitæ periculo sustulissem. 4. <sup>6</sup>Sed quum viderem ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, quum hostem aperte videretis. <sup>7</sup>Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! <sup>8</sup>Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in prætexta cœperat; Publicium et Munatium, quorum <sup>9</sup>æes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicæ motum afferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto aere alieno! quam valentes! quam nobiles!

III. 5. Itaque ego illum exercitum <sup>1</sup>et Gallicæ legionibus et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, <sup>2</sup>quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex <sup>3</sup>agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadinonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si <sup>4</sup>aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire; qui nitent unguentis, <sup>5</sup>qui fulgent purpura,

malem secum suos milites eduxisset: <sup>6</sup> qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque <sup>7</sup> hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. 6. <sup>8</sup> Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorem depoposcerit. Omnia <sup>9</sup> superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? Næ illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videretis. <sup>1</sup> Nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinæ similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: <sup>2</sup> exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: <sup>3</sup> Aurelia via profectus est. Si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. 7. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem <sup>4</sup> hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno meherecule Catilina exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis <sup>5</sup> testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? <sup>6</sup> Quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? 8. <sup>7</sup> Jam vero quæ tanta unquam in ullo homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? Qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amanti flagitiosissime serviebat, <sup>8</sup> aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo, non modo Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius

Italiæ, oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus adsciverit.

V. 9. Atque, ut ejus <sup>1</sup>diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est <sup>2</sup>in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur; nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. <sup>3</sup>Atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus, frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur, <sup>4</sup>quum industriæ subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumerentur. 10. Hunc vero si secuti erunt <sup>5</sup>sui comites; si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges: O nos beatos, O rem publicam fortunatam, O præclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres <sup>6</sup>hominum libidines, non humanæ audaciæ ac tolerandæ: nihil cogitant nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonia sua profuderunt: fortunas suas obligaverunt: <sup>7</sup>res eos jam pridem, fides nuper deficere cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido permanet. <sup>8</sup>Quod si in vino et alea comisationes solum, et scorta quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? <sup>9</sup>Qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, <sup>10</sup>conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis cædem bonorum, atque urbis incendia. 11. <sup>11</sup>Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod; et pœnam jamdiu improbitati, nequitia, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare jam plane, aut certe opproquinare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve <sup>12</sup>nescio quod tempus, sed multa secula propagarit rei publicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus; nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa <sup>13</sup>unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet; intus insidiæ sunt, intus inclusum periculum est; intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me

bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quæ sanari poterunt, quacunque ratione sanabo: quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut <sup>14</sup> exeant, aut quiescant, aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea, quæ merentur, expectent.

VI. 12. At etiam <sup>1</sup> sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. <sup>2</sup> Homo videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, quum domi meæ pæne interfectus essem, senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris convocavi; rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. <sup>3</sup> Quo quum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam <sup>4</sup> principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. 13. Hic ego vehementem ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, <sup>5</sup> quæsivi a Catilina, nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset necne. Quum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid <sup>6</sup> ea nocte egisset, quid proxima constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Quum hæsitaret, <sup>7</sup> quum teneberetur, quæsivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jampridem pararet: quum arma, <sup>8</sup> quum secures, quum fasces, quum tubas, quum signa militaria, quum <sup>9</sup> aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrum scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam. 14. In exsilium <sup>10</sup> ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? <sup>11</sup> Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Fæsulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit; et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant, et ille, ejectus in exsilium, se <sup>12</sup> Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra conferet.

VII. O conditionem miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ rei publicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, <sup>1</sup> periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium <sup>2</sup> belli

faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me <sup>3</sup>spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur: <sup>4</sup>et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. 15. <sup>5</sup>Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. <sup>6</sup>Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. <sup>7</sup>Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, atque in armis volitare audiat; sed triduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, <sup>8</sup>ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius, quam quod ejecerim. Sed quum sint homines, qui illum, <sup>9</sup>quum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? 16. <sup>10</sup>Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dicunt, non tam hoc queruntur, quam verentur. Nemo est istorum <sup>11</sup>tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule <sup>12</sup>hoc, quod agit, nunquam ante cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet, quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, quum ei nihil adhuc <sup>13</sup>præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius, ut eat in exsilium, quam queramur.

VIII. 17. Sed cur tandiu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare, <sup>1</sup>et ipsos placare rei publicæ; neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum <sup>2</sup>istæ copiæ comparentur: <sup>3</sup>deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam. 18. Unum genus est eorum, qui <sup>4</sup>magno in ære alieno majores

etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti, dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum <sup>5</sup>species est honestissima; sunt enim locupletes: voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, <sup>6</sup>tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? Bellum? Quid? Ergo in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones <sup>7</sup>sacrosanctas futuras putas? <sup>8</sup>An tabulas novas? Errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant. <sup>9</sup>Meo beneficio tabulæ novæ proferentur, verum auctionariæ. Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt <sup>10</sup>Quod si maturius facere voluissent, neque (id quod stultissimum est) certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam, quam arma laturi.

IX. 19. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam premuntur ære alieno, <sup>1</sup>dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quæta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. <sup>2</sup>Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: primum omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicæ; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi contra tantam vim sceleris <sup>3</sup>præsentes auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti, <sup>4</sup>num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quæ mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupierunt, consules se, aut dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, <sup>5</sup>fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse?

20. Tertium genus est <sup>6</sup>ætate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines <sup>7</sup>ex iis coloniis, quas Fæsulis Sulla

constituit: <sup>9</sup>quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis <sup>9</sup>sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum ædificant, tamquam beati, dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. Qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, homines tenues atque egentes, in eandem illam spem <sup>10</sup>rapinarum veterum impulerunt; <sup>11</sup>quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere prædatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere, et <sup>12</sup>proscriptiones et dieturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi pasuræ esse videantur.

X. 21. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; <sup>1</sup>qui jampridem premuntur, qui nunquam emergunt; qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere ære alieno vacillant; <sup>2</sup>qui vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe, et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites aeres, quam <sup>3</sup>infitatores lentos esse arbitror. <sup>4</sup>Qui homines primum si stare non possunt, corruant: sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, <sup>5</sup>si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. 22. Quintum genus est paricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum; quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt, et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. <sup>6</sup>Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinæ est, de ejus delectu, immo vero, de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes, aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, <sup>7</sup>velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitæ, et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cœnis expromitur. 23. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique <sup>8</sup>ver-

santur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et psallere, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt; <sup>9</sup> qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Verumtamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? Num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his præsertim jam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi <sup>10</sup> Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? Nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod <sup>11</sup> nudi in convivii saltare didicerunt.

XI. 24. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, quum hanc <sup>1</sup> sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ copias, vestra præsidia, vestrosque exercitus; et primum gladiatorum illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde contra illam <sup>2</sup> naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiæ ac robur educite. Jam vero <sup>3</sup> urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum <sup>4</sup> respondebunt Catilinæ tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, <sup>5</sup> ornamenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. 25. Sed, si, omissis his rebus omnibus, <sup>6</sup> quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si, his rebus omissis, causas ipsas, quæ inter se configunt, <sup>7</sup> contendere velimus: ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. <sup>8</sup> Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc scelus: hinc constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine: hinc continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes, certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus: postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio, nonne, ctiam si <sup>9</sup> hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his præclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?



XII. 26. Quæ quum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: <sup>1</sup> mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset præsidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac <sup>2</sup> nocturna excursionione Catilinæ, facile urbes suas finesque defendent: <sup>3</sup> gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam meliore animo sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque præmisi, aut opprimet <sup>4</sup> hominem, aut ejus omnes motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

27. <sup>5</sup> Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrum in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui <sup>6</sup> solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. <sup>7</sup> Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut eum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, connivere possum: <sup>8</sup> qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. 28. Atque hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maxima minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum, <sup>1</sup> me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. <sup>2</sup> Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestæ audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum

videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat, paucorumque pœna vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis. 29. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia, neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium <sup>3</sup>significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; <sup>4</sup>qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic præsentibus suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt; <sup>5</sup>quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

IN

L. C A T I L I N A M

ORATIO TERTIA,

A D Q U I R I T E S



I. 1. REM PUBLICAM, <sup>1</sup>Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem <sup>2</sup>hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis, ex flamma atque ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. 2. Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, <sup>3</sup>quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta conditio, et quod siue sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam <sup>4</sup>illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem <sup>5</sup>conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, <sup>6</sup>delubris, tectis ac mœnibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus, <sup>7</sup>iidemque gladios in rem publicam dstrictos retudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. 3. <sup>8</sup>Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta, et quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis, <sup>9</sup>ex actis scire possitis.

Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, quum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces Romæ reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

II. Nam tum, quum ex urbe Catilinam <sup>1</sup> eiciebam (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, quum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit), <sup>2</sup> sed tum, quum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. 4. Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maxime furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romæ remansisse, <sup>3</sup> in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: <sup>4</sup> ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis salutem vestram provide-retis, quum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. 5. Itaque <sup>5</sup> ut comperi legatos <sup>6</sup> Allobrogum, belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa, a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum literis mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum T. Volturcium, atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas literas, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam a diis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum, prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicæ viros, ad me vocavi; rem omnem exposui; quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, <sup>7</sup> qui omnia de re publica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt, et, quum advesperasceret, occulte <sup>8</sup> ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspitione multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego <sup>9</sup> ex præfectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in re publica, præsidio cum gladiis miseram. 6. Interim, <sup>10</sup> tertia fere vigilia exacta, quum

jam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res erat prætoribus nota solis; ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. <sup>1</sup>Literæ, quæcunque erant in eo comitatu, <sup>2</sup>integris signis prætoribus traduntur; <sup>3</sup>ipsi comprehensi ad me, quum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium, scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum <sup>4</sup>Gabinium statim ad me <sup>5</sup>nilil. dum suspicantem vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus. Tardissime autem Lentulus venit, <sup>6</sup>credo quod in literis his dandis præter consuetudinem <sup>7</sup>proxima nocte vigilaverat. <sup>8</sup>7. Quum vero summis et clarissimis hujus civitatis <sup>9</sup>viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, literas a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum referri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, tenere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, <sup>9</sup>negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar, in tantis rei publicæ periculis, esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, <sup>10</sup>coegi. 8. Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium prætorem, fortem virum, misi, <sup>11</sup>qui ex ædibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Volturcium sine <sup>1</sup>Gallis: fidem ei publicam jussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ sciret, sine metu indicaret. Tum ille dixit, quum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, <sup>2</sup>ut servorum præsidio uteretur, et ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet: <sup>3</sup>id autem eo consilio, ut, quum urbem <sup>4</sup>ex omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, præsto esset illè, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus

conjungeret. 9. Introducti autem Galli <sup>6</sup> jusjurandum sibi et literas a Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent: pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem <sup>6</sup> sibi confirmasse ex fati Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, esse se tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse; <sup>7</sup> eundemque dixisse <sup>8</sup> fatalem hunc esse ænnum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post Virginum <sup>9</sup> absolutionem, <sup>10</sup> post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. 10. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis eadem <sup>11</sup> Saturnalibus fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

V. Ac, <sup>1</sup> ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum; cognovit. Nos linum incidimus; legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, <sup>2</sup> sese, quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, facturum esse: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi eorum legati recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paullo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quæ <sup>3</sup> apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quæsivi, cognosceretne signum. Annuit.—“Est vero, inquam, notum signum, imago avi tui, <sup>4</sup> clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos: quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.” 11. <sup>5</sup> Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit; quæsivit a Gallis, <sup>6</sup> quid sibi esset cum iis; quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Volturcio. <sup>7</sup> Qui quum illi breviter

constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quæsisissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fati Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito, <sup>8</sup> scelere demens, quanta conscientiæ vis esset, ostendit. Nam, quum id posset infitiam, repente præter opinionem omnium confessus est. <sup>9</sup> Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam, propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. 12. Voltureius vero subito literas proferri atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. <sup>10</sup> Erant autem scriptæ sine nomine, sed ita: *Qui sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura, ut vir sis, et cogita quem in locum sis progressus, et vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse. Et cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum.* Gabinius deinde introductus, <sup>11</sup> quum primo impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quæ Galli insimulabant, negavit. 13. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, <sup>12</sup> quum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique unius ejusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. <sup>13</sup> Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed ipsi a se viderentur.

VI. <sup>1</sup> Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt <sup>2</sup> a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam <sup>3</sup> nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. 14. Primum mihi gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea, res publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus, prætores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur: atque etiam viro forti, <sup>4</sup> collegæ meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, <sup>5</sup> quum se prætura abdicasset, <sup>6</sup> in custodiam traderetur: atque idem hoc decre-

tum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi <sup>7</sup> procurationem incendendæ urbis depoposcerat: in M. Cæparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam, <sup>8</sup> erat indicatum: in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos Fæsulas L. Sulla deduxit: in Q. Manlium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper <sup>9</sup> erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus: in P. Umbrenum, <sup>10</sup> libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. 15. Atque <sup>11</sup> ea lenitate senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione, tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium, novem hominum perditissimorum pœna re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam <sup>12</sup> supplicatio diis immortalibus, pro singulari eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites; quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit: et his decreta verbis est, QUOD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVES, ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. <sup>13</sup> Quæ supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, Quirites, hoc intersit, quod ceteræ bene gesta, hæc una, conservata re publica, constituta est. <sup>14</sup> Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactus indicibus et confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus, non modo prætoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit: <sup>15</sup> ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatum erat decretum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. 16. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces <sup>1</sup> captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes spes atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. <sup>2</sup> Quem quidem ego quum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli <sup>3</sup> somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. <sup>4</sup> Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat, <sup>5</sup> omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat; jam ad <sup>6</sup> certas



res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat; neque vero, quum aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat. Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. 17. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam <sup>7</sup> in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi <sup>8</sup> ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsem (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites), non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulsem. Non ille <sup>9</sup> nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicæ denuntiavisset, nec commisisset, ut signum, ut literæ suæ, testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quæ nunc, illo absente, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam hæc in tota re publica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurrî atque obstiti, tamen, <sup>10</sup> ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos unquam, quum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, liberassemus.

VIII. 18. <sup>1</sup> Quamquam hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisæ esse videantur. <sup>2</sup> Idque quum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse; tum vero ita præsentibus his temporibus operam et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos pæne oculis videre possemus. Nam, <sup>3</sup> ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque cœli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus, ceteraque, quæ tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, <sup>4</sup> ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque prætermittendum, neque relinquendum est. 19. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus, complures in Capitolio res <sup>5</sup> de cœlo esse percussas, quum et simulacra deorum immortalium depulsa sunt, et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et legum æra liquefacta; tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus; <sup>6</sup> quem inauratum in Capitolio

parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. <sup>7</sup> Quo quidem tempore, quum haruspices <sup>8</sup> ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes atque incendia, et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales, <sup>9</sup> omni ratione placati, suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. 20. Itaque illorum responsis tunc et <sup>10</sup> ludi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quæ ad placandos deos pertineret, prætermissa est: <sup>11</sup> iidemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere majus, et in excelso collocare, et, contra atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum, et forum, curiamque conspiceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud signum ita collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque <sup>12</sup> a superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

IX. 21. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam præceps, tam mente captus, <sup>1</sup> qui neget hæc omnia, quæ videmus, præcipueque hanc urbem, deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim quum esset ita responsum, cædes, incendia, interitumque rei publicæ comparari, <sup>2</sup> et ea per cives, quæ tum propter magnitudinem seclerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensitis. <sup>3</sup> Illud vero nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, quum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et eorum indices, in ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? Quo collocato, <sup>4</sup> atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia et senatus et vos, quæ erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. 22. Quo etiam majore sunt <sup>5</sup> isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi <sup>6</sup> sumam, et non sim ferendus: <sup>7</sup> ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos

esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus <sup>8</sup> hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia perveni. <sup>9</sup> Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, sic a P. Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, tam dementer, tanta res, credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque literæ nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus huic tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. <sup>10</sup> Quid vero? ut homines Galli, ex civitate male pacata, quæ gens una restat, quæ bellum populo Romano facere et posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent; id non divinitus factum esse putatis? <sup>11</sup> Præsertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerunt.

X. 23. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam <sup>1</sup> ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores diis immortalibus justî habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et crepti sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; <sup>2</sup> togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis. 24. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis: <sup>3</sup> L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. <sup>4</sup> Cn. Octavius, consul, armis expulit ex urbe collegam suum; <sup>5</sup> omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine <sup>6</sup> redundavit. Superavit postea Cimna cum Mario. Tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. <sup>7</sup> Ultus est hujus victoriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla; ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminatione civium, et quanta calamitate rei publicæ. Dissensit <sup>8</sup> M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo. Attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicæ luctum, quam ceterorum. <sup>9</sup> Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones erant ejusmodi, Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinerent; non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes; neque hanc urbem con-

flagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicæ quæsit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecone civium dijudicatæ sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, <sup>10</sup> quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, et Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur; ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini; et, quum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum esse putassent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, <sup>11</sup> tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. 26. <sup>1</sup> Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia <sup>2</sup> ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. <sup>3</sup> Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejusmodi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possiut. Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: <sup>4</sup> eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatam; unoque tempore in hac re publica <sup>5</sup> duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terræ, sed cœli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. 27. Sed, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque conditio, <sup>1</sup> quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt: quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, <sup>2</sup> illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris recte facta sua prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. <sup>3</sup> Mentis enim hominum audacissimorum <sup>4</sup> sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. <sup>4</sup> Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est <sup>5</sup> in

bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna in re publica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet; magna vis conscientiæ, <sup>6</sup> quam qui negligent, quum me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt. 28. Est etiam in nobis <sup>7</sup>is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos <sup>8</sup> ultro semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus. <sup>9</sup> Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim quum neque in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat ascendere? 29. Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quæ gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, lædat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deinde ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea <sup>10</sup> virtute, non casu, gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini <sup>11</sup> illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam jam periculum est depulsam, tamen æque ac priore nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO QUARTA,

HABITA IN SENATU.



I. 1. VIDEO, <sup>1</sup>Patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum <sup>2</sup>ora atque oculos esse conversos. Video vos non solum de <sup>3</sup>vestro ac rei publicæ, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda <sup>4</sup>in malis, et grata in dolore, vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! deponite, atque obliti salutis meæ, de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si <sup>5</sup>hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, fêram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat. 2. Ego sum ille consul, Patres conscripti, cui <sup>6</sup>non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur, non campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune per fugium; non lectus ad quietem datus; non denique hæc sedes honoris, sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, Patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex cæde miserrima, conjuges, liberosque vestros, virginesque Vestales <sup>7</sup>ex acerbissima vexatione; templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherri

man patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus <sup>8</sup> suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem populi Romani fore putavit, cur ego non læter, meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicæ prope fatalem exstitisse?

II. 3. Quare, Patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite, mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos, <sup>1</sup> qui huic urbi præsent, <sup>2</sup> pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relatuos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, æquo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura <sup>3</sup> consulari, nec misera sapienti. <sup>4</sup> Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et anantissimi præsentis mærore non movear, horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum sæpe revocat <sup>5</sup> exanimata uxor, et abjecta metu filia, et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei; neque ille, qui, expectans hujus exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam <sup>6</sup> et illi et nos una rei publicæ peste pereamus. 4. Quare, Patres conscripti, <sup>7</sup> incunbite ad salutem rei publicæ; circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod <sup>8</sup> agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod, atque in vestræ severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romæ restiterunt. Tenentur literæ, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges; <sup>9</sup> servitia excitantur; Catilina arcessitur; id est initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. 5. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt, <sup>1</sup>rei confessi sunt; vos multis jam judiciis judicastis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis <sup>2</sup>singularibus verbis, et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem patefactam esse decrevistis: deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret prætura, coegistis; tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque, quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, <sup>3</sup>qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo, hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

6. <sup>4</sup>Sed ego institui referre ad vos, Patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis, et de pœna, quid censeatis. <sup>5</sup>Illa prædicam, quæ sunt consulis. Ego <sup>6</sup>magnum in re publica versari furorem, et nova quædam misceri et concitari mala jampridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi. Nunc, <sup>7</sup>quidquid est, quocunque vestræ mentes inclinant atque sententiæ, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. <sup>8</sup>Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et, obscure serpens, multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi <sup>9</sup>sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quacunque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. 7. Video <sup>1</sup>duas adhuc esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos, qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis pœnam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate, et pro <sup>2</sup>rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. <sup>3</sup>Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita, et hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere; atque hoc genus pœnæ sæpe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. <sup>4</sup>Alter intelligit, mor-



tem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam; sed aut necessitatem naturæ, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes sæpe etiam libenter appetiverunt. <sup>5</sup> Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur <sup>6</sup> ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare. Decernatur tamen, si placet. 8. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, <sup>7</sup> qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare. <sup>8</sup> Adjungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat, et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum levare possit; eripit etiam spem, quæ sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. <sup>9</sup> Bona præterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus; <sup>10</sup> quam si eripuisset, multos uno dolore animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque, ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse <sup>11</sup> voluerunt; quod videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. 9. Nunc, Patres conscripti, ego mea video <sup>1</sup> quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiæ, mihi populares impetus pertinescendi: sin <sup>2</sup> illam alteram, nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicæ <sup>3</sup> vincat. Habemus enim a C. Cæsare, sicut ipsius dignitas, et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam, tamquam obsidem perpetuæ in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, <sup>4</sup> quid intersit inter levitatem concionatorum, et animum vere popularem, salutem populi consulentem. 10. Video <sup>5</sup> de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit, et indices hesterno die maximis præmiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini

dubium est, <sup>6</sup> qui reo custodiam, quæsitore gratulationem, iudici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa iudicavit. At vero C. Cæsar intelligit, <sup>7</sup> legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; <sup>8</sup> qui autem rei publicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis jussu populi æternas rei publicæ dependisse. <sup>9</sup> Idem ipsum largitorem Lentulum et prodigum non putat, quum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe tamque crudeliter cogitavit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisque mandare, et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare, et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut <sup>10</sup> omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. 11. Quamobrem sive <sup>1</sup> hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem, populo earum atque jucundum; sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvetis, <sup>2</sup> atque obtinebo, eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, Patres conscripti, quæ potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu iudico. <sup>3</sup> Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. <sup>4</sup> Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. 12. Quum vero <sup>5</sup> mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fati sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrumfamilias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, <sup>6</sup> me severum vehementemque præbebo. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfa-

milias liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, <sup>7</sup> supplicium de servis quam acerbissimum sumpserit; utrum is elemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? <sup>8</sup> Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt; qui singulas unius ejusque nostrum domos, et hoc universum rei publicæ domicilium delere conati sunt; <sup>9</sup> qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent; si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur; sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis crudelitatis in patriæ civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. 13. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicæ, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, quum sororis suæ, feminæ lectissimæ, <sup>10</sup> virum presentem et audientem, vita privandum esse dixit; quum avum jussu consulis interfectum filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. <sup>11</sup> Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendæ rei publicæ consilium? <sup>12</sup> Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est, et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus <sup>13</sup> avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica minueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicæ Gallos accessit, servitia conceit, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, nimis aliquid severius statuisset videamini. Multo magis est verendum, <sup>14</sup> ne remissione pœnæ crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

VII. 14. Sed ea, quæ exaudio, Patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. <sup>1</sup> Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisæ, et parata, et constituta sunt, Patres conscripti <sup>2</sup> quum mea summa

cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus templi et loci. <sup>3</sup>Causa est enim post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, præter eos, qui, quum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius, quam soli perire voluerunt. 15. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter; neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitateinque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita <sup>4</sup>summam ordinis consilii que concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicæ certent; quos, <sup>5</sup>ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos, hodiernus dies vobiscum atque hæc causa conjungit; <sup>6</sup>quam si conjunctionem in consulatu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenerimus, confirmo vobis, nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ rei publicæ convenisse video <sup>7</sup>tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; <sup>8</sup>scribas item universos; quos quum casu hic dies ad ærarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. 16. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, quum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operæ pretium est, Patres conscripti, <sup>1</sup>libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere; qui, sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti, vere hanc suam patriam esse judicant, quam <sup>2</sup>quidam hic nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemoro, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea, quæ dulcissima est, ad salutem

patriæ defendendam excitavit? <sup>3</sup>Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc stare cupiat; qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis. 17. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, <sup>4</sup>est id quidem cœptum atque tentatum; sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri, aut voluntate perditæ, qui non illum ipsum sellæ atque operis et quæstus quotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitæ suæ salvum esse velint. <sup>5</sup>Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, nisi vero (id enim potius est dicendum) genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim <sup>6</sup>omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quæstus, frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quæstus, oclusis tabernis, minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

IX. 18. Quæ quum ita sint, Patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano decesse videamini, providete. Habetis <sup>1</sup>consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis, atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiæ conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis; vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis <sup>2</sup>aras Penatium, vobis <sup>3</sup>ignem illum Vestæ sempiternum, vobis omnia deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros et urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, <sup>4</sup>de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est. 19. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, <sup>5</sup>quæ non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod <sup>6</sup>in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. <sup>7</sup>Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam

libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox pæne delerit. Id ne unquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio pæne præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum; sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in re publica princeps, officio funeta consulari videretur.

X. 20. Nunc antequam, Patres conscripti, <sup>1</sup>ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse pernagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam esse turpem judicio, infirmam et abjectam. <sup>2</sup>Quod si aliquando, alicujus furore et scelere concitata, manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicæ dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam mihi illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitæ tantam laudem, <sup>3</sup>quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim bene <sup>4</sup>gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis. 21. Sit <sup>5</sup>Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque Italia decedere coactus est; ornatur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus, Perses, honestavit: sit æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italianam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes <sup>6</sup>iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ; nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, <sup>7</sup>quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quo victores revertantur. 22. Quamquam est <sup>8</sup>uno loco conditio melior <sup>9</sup>externæ victoriæ, quam domesticæ, quod hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos, quum a pernicie rei publicæ repuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare <sup>10</sup>possis; quare mihi cum perditis civibus

æternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego <sup>11</sup> vestro, bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriamque tantorum periculorum, quæ non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed etiam in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper hærebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, <sup>12</sup> quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

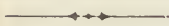
XI. 23. Quæ quum ita sint, Patres conscripti, <sup>1</sup> pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis vestræque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro <sup>2</sup> clientelis hospitibusque provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia, nihil a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo; <sup>3</sup> quæ dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro septum esse arbitrabor. Quod si meam spem vis improborum <sup>4</sup> fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium; cui profecto <sup>5</sup> satis erit præsidii, non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hæc omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memineritis. 24. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, Patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis <sup>6</sup> eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum præstare possit.

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA

POETA

O R A T I O .



I. 1. Si quid est in me <sup>1</sup>ingenii, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorrnisse : earum rerum omnium <sup>2</sup>vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, et pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, <sup>3</sup>inde usque repetens, hunc video <sup>4</sup>mihî principem, et ad suscipiendam, et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit ; a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris optulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. 2. Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, <sup>5</sup>quod alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, <sup>6</sup>ne nos quidem huic unî studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

II. 3. Sed <sup>1</sup>ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur, me in quæ



tione legitima, et in judicio publico, <sup>2</sup> quum res agatur apud præ-  
torem populi Romani, rectissimum virum, et apud severissimos  
judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, <sup>3</sup> hoc uti genere di-  
cendi, quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a  
forensi sermone abhorreat: quæso a vobis, ut in hac causa mihi  
detis hanc veniam, accommodatam <sup>4</sup> huic reo, vobis, quemadmodum  
spero, non molestam; ut me pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo  
homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum, hac ves-  
tra humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente judicium, patiamini  
<sup>5</sup> de studiis humanitatis ac literarum paulo loqui liberius, et <sup>6</sup> in  
ejusmodi persona, <sup>7</sup> quæ propter otium ac studium, minime in judi-  
ciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope <sup>8</sup> novo quodam et inusitato  
genere dicendi. 4. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sen-  
tiam, <sup>9</sup> perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non se-  
gregandum, quum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non  
esset, putetis adseiscendum.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab iis  
artibus, quibus ætas puerilis <sup>1</sup> ad humanitatem informari solet, se  
ad scribendi studium contulit; primum Antiochiæ (nam ibi natus  
est <sup>2</sup> loco nobili), celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque eruditis-  
simis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter antecel-  
lere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus  
eunetaque Græcia <sup>3</sup> sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam in-  
genii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admira-  
tioque superaret. 5. Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac  
disciplinarum, studiaque hæc et in Latio <sup>4</sup> vehementius tum cole-  
bantur quam nunc iisdem in oppidis; et hic Romæ, propter tran-  
quillitatem rei publicæ, non negligebantur. <sup>5</sup> Itaque hunc et Ta-  
rentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque præmiis dou-  
arunt; et omnes, <sup>6</sup> qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cogni-  
tione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta celebritate  
famæ quum esset <sup>7</sup> jam absentibus notus, Roman venit, Mario con-  
sule et Catulo. Nactus est primum <sup>8</sup> consules eos, quorum alter  
res ad scribendum maximas, alter quum res gestas, tum etiam stu-  
dium atque aures adhibere posset. Statim <sup>9</sup> Luculli, quum præ-

textatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt.  
<sup>10</sup> Sed enim hoc non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiæ prima paruit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. 6. Erat temporibus illis jucundus Metello, <sup>11</sup> illi Numidico, et ejus Pio filio; <sup>12</sup> audiebatur a M. Æmilio; vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre et filio; a L. Crasso colebatur; Lucullos vero, et Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum, <sup>13</sup> devinctam consuetudine quam teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, <sup>14</sup> quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, quum esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, et quum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit <sup>1</sup> Heracliam. <sup>2</sup> Quæ quum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque, quum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli, ab Heracliensibus impetravit. 7. Data est <sup>3</sup> civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis. **SI QUI FŒDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSRIPTI FUISSENT, SITUM. QUUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT, ET, <sup>4</sup> SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRÆTOREM ESSENT PROFESSI. 8. <sup>5</sup> Quum hic domicilium Romæ multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. Si nihil aliud nisi <sup>6</sup> de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, <sup>7</sup> Grati, potest? Heracliæne esse tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, L. Lucullus, qui se <sup>8</sup> non opinari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus judicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc adscriptum Heracliensem dicunt. <sup>9</sup> Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere, quærere, quæ habere non possumus, et de hominum memoria tacere, <sup>10</sup> literarum memoriam flagitare; et, quum habeas amplissimi viri <sup>11</sup> religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari**

nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, <sup>12</sup> quas idem dieis solere corrumpi, desiderare. 9. <sup>13</sup> An domicilium Romæ non habuit? qui tot annis, ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? <sup>14</sup> An non est professus? <sup>15</sup> Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. <sup>1</sup> Nam quum Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatæ dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem <sup>2</sup> resignasset; Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad <sup>3</sup> iudices venerit et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis. 10. Quæ quum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus <sup>4</sup> civitate dubitetis, præsertim quum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim quum mediocribus multis, et aut nulla, aut humili aliqua arte præditis, gratuito civitatem in Græcia homines impertiebant, <sup>5</sup> Rheginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentiuos, quod <sup>6</sup> scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa ingenii prædito, gloria noluisse. <sup>7</sup> Quid? quum ceteri, non modo <sup>8</sup> post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam, aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irreperint, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, rejicietur? 11. <sup>9</sup> Census nostros requiris. <sup>10</sup> Scilicet: est enim obscurum, <sup>11</sup> proximis censoribus, hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse, superioribus, eum eodem quæstore fuisse in Asia, primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive: iis temporibus, <sup>12</sup> quem tu criminari ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus, et <sup>13</sup> adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, et <sup>14</sup> in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo proconsule.\*

VI. <sup>1</sup> Quære argumenta, si quæ potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum iudicio <sup>2</sup> revincetur.

12. Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere hoc homine delectemur. <sup>3</sup> Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convicio defessæ conquiescant. An tu existimas aut <sup>4</sup>suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me his studiis esse deditum. <sup>5</sup> Ceteros pudeat, si qui se ita literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex iis neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, iudices, ut <sup>6</sup>a nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocarit, aut denique somnus retardarit?

13. Quare <sup>7</sup>quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, <sup>8</sup>si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviiis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis <sup>9</sup>hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas: quæ, quantacunque est in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. <sup>10</sup> Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio.

14. Nam, nisi multorum præceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita <sup>11</sup>magnopere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem: in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilia parvi esse ducenda: nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenæ sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacērent in tenebris omnia, nisi literarum lumen accederet. <sup>12</sup> Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt? Quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens, animum et mentem meam <sup>13</sup>ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. 15. Quæret quispiam: Quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes <sup>1</sup>literis proditæ sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt? <sup>2</sup>Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor: etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem <sup>3</sup>naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. <sup>4</sup>Atque idem ego hoc contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere; 16. <sup>5</sup>ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum; ex hoc C. Lælium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum, et illis temporibus doctissimum, Catonem illum senem, qui profecto, <sup>6</sup>si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, <sup>7</sup>hanc animi aversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. <sup>8</sup>Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum; at hæc studia adolescentiam acunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, <sup>9</sup>adversis per fugium ac solatium præbent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

17. Quod si <sup>10</sup>ipsi hæc neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam quum in aliis videremus.

VIII. Quis nostrum <sup>1</sup>tan animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? <sup>2</sup>qui quum esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, <sup>3</sup>videbatur omnino inori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? 18. Quoties ego hunc <sup>4</sup>Archiam vidi, iudices (utar enim vestra benignitate,

quoniam me in hoc novo generi dicendi tam diligenter attenditis), quoties ego hunc vidi, <sup>4</sup> quum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! <sup>5</sup> quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis! <sup>6</sup> Quæ vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. <sup>7</sup> Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omnino ratione defendendum putem? <sup>8</sup> Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina, et præceptis, et arte constare, <sup>9</sup> poetam natura ipsa valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure <sup>10</sup> noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum <sup>11</sup> aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. 19. Sit igitur, iudices, sanctum apud vos, <sup>12</sup> humanissimos homines, hoc poetæ nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent; bestię sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non poetarum voce <sup>13</sup> moveamur? <sup>14</sup> Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi <sup>1</sup> alienum, quia poeta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? præsertim quum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam. Nam <sup>2</sup> et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit, et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. 20. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, <sup>3</sup> qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum facile præconium patiat. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, quum ex eo quæreretur, <sup>4</sup> "quod acroama, aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: ejus a quo sua virtus optime prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marius item <sup>5</sup> eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari. 21. <sup>6</sup> Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile, et in multa varietate terra marique versa-

tum, totum ab hoc expressum est: <sup>7</sup> qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrent. Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regni quondam opibus, et ipsa natura regionis <sup>8</sup> vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, <sup>9</sup> non maxima manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: <sup>10</sup> populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem consilio, ex omni impetu regio, atque totius belli ore ac faucibus creptam esse atque servatam: <sup>11</sup> nostra semper feretur et prædicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis: nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphus; quæ quorum ingenii <sup>12</sup> effe-  
rentur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. 22. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius; itaque etiam <sup>13</sup> in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore. <sup>14</sup> At iis laudibus certe non solum ipse, qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In coelum <sup>15</sup> hujus proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

X. Ergo <sup>1</sup> illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracliensem, multis civitatibus expetitur, in hæc autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

23. Nam si quis <sup>2</sup> minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea, quod <sup>3</sup> Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, <sup>4</sup> orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriæ famamque penetrare; quod quum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc <sup>5</sup> ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita, gloriæ causa, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et laborum. 24. Quam multos <sup>6</sup> scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, quum <sup>7</sup> in Sigeo ad Achillis tu-

mulum adstitisset. *O fortunate*, inquit, *adolescens*, <sup>8</sup> *qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!* Et vere: nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? <sup>9</sup> noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, nonne Theophanem, Mitylænæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militum civitate donavit; et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt? 25. Itaque, <sup>10</sup> credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla, quum Hispanos donaret et Gallos, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset; <sup>11</sup> quem nos in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui, sed ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. <sup>12</sup> Qui sedulitatem mali poetæ duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? 26. Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se, neque per Lucillos <sup>13</sup> impetravisset? <sup>14</sup> qui præsertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam <sup>15</sup> Cordubæ natis poetis, <sup>16</sup> pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, <sup>1</sup> sed præ nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes studio laudis, et <sup>2</sup> optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi, etiam in <sup>3</sup> iis libellis, quos de contemenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inseribunt: in eo ipso, in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac nominari volunt. 27. <sup>4</sup> Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator. Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. <sup>5</sup> Jam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit Fulvius non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, <sup>6</sup> in qua urbe imperatores, prope armati, poetarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices <sup>7</sup> a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorrere.



28. Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, <sup>8</sup> jam me vobis, judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriæ, nimis acri fortasse, veruntamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam, <sup>9</sup> quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vita civium, proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit; quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad, perficiendum adjuvi. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque <sup>10</sup> desiderat, præter hanc laudis et gloriæ; qua quidem detracta, judices, quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? 29. Certe, si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum, et <sup>11</sup> si, quibus regionibus vitæ spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quedam <sup>12</sup> in optimo quoque virtus, quæ <sup>13</sup> noctes ac dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat, atque admonet non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adæquandam.

XII. 30. <sup>1</sup> An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica, atque in his vitæ periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, quum usque ad extremum spatium, nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem <sup>2</sup> nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. <sup>3</sup> Hæc vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

31. Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, <sup>4</sup> quem amicorum videtis comprobati quum dignitate, tum etiam vetustate, ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitur esse videatis; <sup>5</sup> causa vero

ejusmodi, quæ beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Lullii, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quæ quum ita sint, petimus a vobis, iudices, si qua non modo <sup>6</sup>humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis commendatio debet esse, <sup>7</sup>ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit; qui etiam his recentibus nostris, vestrisque domesticis periculis æternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur; <sup>8</sup>isque est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti, itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius, quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. 32. <sup>9</sup>Quæ de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, iudices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quæ non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine, et de hominis ingenio, et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; <sup>10</sup>ab eo, qui iudicium exercet, certe scio.

## ORATIO

# PRO M. MARCELLO.



I. 1. <sup>1</sup>DIUTURNI silentii, Patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, <sup>2</sup>non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium, quæ vellem quæque sentirem meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam inauditamque elementiam, tantum in summa potestate omnium rerum <sup>3</sup>modum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac pæne divinam, tacitus præterire nullo modo possum. 2. M. enim Marcello vobis, Patres conscripti, rei que publicæ reddito, <sup>4</sup>non illius solum, sed etiam meam vocem et auctoritatem, et vobis et rei publicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto. <sup>5</sup>Dolebam enim, Patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar, quum viderem, virum talem, qui <sup>6</sup>in eadem causa esset, in qua ego fuissen, non in eadem esse fortuna: nec mihi persuadere poteram, nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in nostro vetere curriculo, illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite, distracto. Ergo et mihi meæ pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar, <sup>7</sup>interclusam aperuisti, <sup>8</sup>et his omnibus, ad bene de omni re publica sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. 3. Intellectum est enim, <sup>9</sup>mihî quidem in multis, et maxime in me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, quum M. Marcellum senatui rei que publicæ concessisti, <sup>10</sup>commemoratis

præsertim offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque rei publicæ, tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferre. Ille quidem <sup>11</sup>fructum omnis ante actæ vitæ hodierno die maximum cepit, quum <sup>12</sup>summo consensu senatus, tum præterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, quum in accepto sit tanta gloria. Est vero fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor pæne ad omnes, quam ad illum ventura sit, lætitia pervenerit: 4. quod quidem ei merito, atque optimo jure, contigit. Quis enim est illo, aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo laudis genere, præstantior?

II. <sup>1</sup>Nullius tantum flumen est ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen affirmo, et hoc pace dicam tua; nullam in his laudem esse ampliorem, quam eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. 5. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, <sup>2</sup>idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus: omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis, nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri; <sup>4</sup>nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius passibus cujusquam potuisse peragrari, quam tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis, lustratæ sunt. 6. <sup>5</sup>Quæ quidem ego nisi tam magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, anensim, sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare <sup>6</sup>verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certe, <sup>7</sup>in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus, multum juvant; maximam vero partem, quasi suo jure, fortuna sibi vindicat; et, quidquid prospere gestum est, id pæne omne ducit sum. 7. <sup>8</sup>At vero hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem: totum hoc, quantumcumque est, quod certe maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi <sup>9</sup>ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil

turma decerpit: quin etiam <sup>10</sup> illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius societatem gloriæ se non offert; tibi cedit; tuam se esse totam et propriam fatetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, <sup>11</sup> neque ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. 8. Domuisti gentes <sup>1</sup> immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes: sed tamen ea vicisti, quæ et naturam et conditionem, ut vinci possent, habebant. Nulla est enim tanta vis, <sup>2</sup> quæ non ferro et viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, <sup>3</sup> adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem; hæc qui facit, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum deo judico. 9. Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur illæ quidem non solis nostris sed pæne omnium gentium literis atque linguis; nec ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet: sed tamen <sup>4</sup> ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo, etiam quum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At vero, quum <sup>5</sup> aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quæ natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legimus; quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos sæpe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! 10. <sup>6</sup> Te vero, quem præsentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque et eos cernimus, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum rei publicæ fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complectemur? Parietes, <sup>7</sup> medius fidius, ut mihi videtur, hujus curiæ, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, <sup>8</sup> quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

IV. Equidem, <sup>1</sup> quum C. Marcelli, viri optimi et incomparabili pietate præditi, lacrimas modo vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum pectus memoria obfudit; quibus tu etiam mortuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam reddidisti, nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad paucos redactam, <sup>2</sup> pæne ab interitu vindicasti. 11. Hunc tu igitur diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratula-

tionibus jure anteponis. <sup>3</sup> Hæc enim res unius est propria Cæsaris : ceteræ duce te gestæ, magnæ illæ quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. Hujus autem rei <sup>4</sup> tu idem es et dux et comes; quæ quidem tanta est, ut nulla tropæis et monumentis tuis allatura finem sit ætas : nihil est enim <sup>5</sup> opere et manu factum, quod non aliquando conficiat et consumat vetustas : 12. at hæc tua justitia et lenitas animi florescit quotidie magis, <sup>6</sup> ita ut, quantum tuis operibus diurnitas detrahet, tantum afferat laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnes victores bellorum civilium <sup>7</sup> jam ante æquitate et misericordia viceras : hodierno vero die te ipsum vicisti. <sup>8</sup> Vereor ut hoc, quod dicam, perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ipse cogitans sentio : ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, <sup>9</sup> quum ea, quæ illa erat adeptæ, victis remisisti. Nam, quum ipsius victoriæ conditione <sup>10</sup> omnes victi occidissemus, clementiæ tuæ judicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriæ conditio visque devicta est.

V. 13. Atque hoc C. Cæsaris judicium, Patres conscripti, <sup>1</sup> quam late pateat, attendite : <sup>2</sup> omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo rei publicæ misero funestoque compulsi, <sup>3</sup> etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, a scelere certe liberati sumus. Nam, quum M. Marcellum, deprecantibus vobis, rei publicæ conservavit : memet mihi, et item rei publicæ, nullo deprecante, <sup>4</sup> reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patriæ reddidit : quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem <sup>5</sup> hoc ipso in consessu videtis. <sup>6</sup> Non ille hostes induxit in curiam, sed judicavit, a plerisque, ignoratione potius, et falso atque inani metu, quam cupiditate aut crudelitate, bellum esse susceptum. 14. Quo quidem in bello semper <sup>7</sup> de pace audiendum putavi, semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed etiam orationem civium pacem flagitantium repudiari. Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia <sup>8</sup> pacis et togæ sociæ, non belli atque armorum, fuerunt. Hominem sum secutus <sup>9</sup> privato officio, non publico : tantumque apud me <sup>10</sup> grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem, prudens et sciens, tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium. 15. <sup>11</sup> Quod quidem

meum consilium ininiue obscurum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi; et in ipso bello <sup>12</sup> eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Ex quo nemo jam erit tam injustus existimator rerum, <sup>13</sup> qui dubitet, quæ Cæsaris de bello voluntas fuerit, quin pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, ceteris fuerit irator. Atque id minus fortasse mirum tum, quum esset incertus exitus, et anceps fortuna belli: qui vero, victor, pacis auctores diliget, is profecto declarat, se maluisse non dimicare, quam vincere.

VI. 16. Atque <sup>1</sup> hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. <sup>2</sup> Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, vidi, <sup>3</sup> quum insolentiam certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius victoriæ ferocitatem, extimescentem! <sup>4</sup> Quo gratior tua liberalitas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. Non enim jam <sup>5</sup> causæ sunt inter se, sed victoriæ, comparandæ. 17. Vidimus tuam victoriam præliorum exitu terminatam: <sup>6</sup> gladium vagina vacuum in urbe non vidimus. Quos amissimus cives, eos <sup>7</sup> Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret, quoniam ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest. <sup>8</sup> Alterius vero partis, nihil amplius dicam, quam id, quod omnes verebamur, nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. 18. Quidam enim, non modo armatis, sed interdum etiam otiosis, minabantur; <sup>9</sup> nec, quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant: <sup>10</sup> ut mihi quidem videantur dii immortales, etiam si pœnas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverunt, vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando, <sup>11</sup> omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

19. Quare gaude tuo isto <sup>12</sup> tam excellenti bono: et fruire, quum fortuna et gloria, tum etiam natura et moribus tuis: ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. Cetera quum tua recordabere, etsi persæpe <sup>13</sup> virtuti, tamen plerunque felicitati tuæ gratulabere: de nobis, quos in re publica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficiis, to-

ties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua, cogitabis: <sup>14</sup> quæ non modo summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude vera, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut hæc a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. 20. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aliqua aut pravitate <sup>15</sup> lapsis, sed opinione officii, stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et specie quadam rei publicæ; non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt, contraque summa laus, quod minime timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. 21. Nunc venio <sup>1</sup> ad gravissimam querelam, et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam; quæ non tibi ipsi magis, quam, quum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: <sup>2</sup> quam etsi spero falsam esse, tamen nunquam extenuabo verbis. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; ut, <sup>3</sup> si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus, quam parum prudens. Sed quisnam est <sup>4</sup> iste tam demens? <sup>5</sup> De tuisne? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex hoc numero, <sup>6</sup> qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. An, si <sup>7</sup> nihil tui cogitant sceleris, cavendum est ne quid inimici? <sup>8</sup> Qui? omnes enim, qui fuerunt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt, aut tua misericordia retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut, qui superfuerunt sint amicissimi. 22. Sed tamen, quum in animis hominum <sup>9</sup> tantæ latebræ sint et tanti recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam: simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publica, <sup>10</sup> tam nihil unquam nec de sua, nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat, tua salute contineri suam, <sup>11</sup> et ex unius tua vita pendere omnium? Equidem, de te dies noctesque, ut debeo, cogitans, casus duntaxat humanos et incertos eventus valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, extimesco, doleoque, quum res publica immortalis esse debeat, <sup>12</sup> eam in unius mortalis anima consistere. 23. Si vero, ad humanos casus, incertosque motus valetudi-



nis, <sup>13</sup> sceleris etiam accedit insidiarumque consensus : quem deum, si cupiat, posse opitulari rei publicæ credamus ?

VIII. Omnia <sup>1</sup> sunt excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, uni, quæ jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, prostrata atque percussa ; constituenda <sup>2</sup> judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda suboles ; <sup>3</sup> omnia, quæ dilapsa jam defluerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. 24. Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, tanto animorum ardore et armorum, <sup>4</sup> quin quassata res publica, quicumque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis suæ : multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri prohibuisset. Quæ quidem tibi nunc omnia belli vulnera sananda sunt, <sup>5</sup> quibus, præter te, nemo mederi potest. 25. Itaque illam tuam præclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem <sup>6</sup> invitus audivi : “ Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel gloriæ.” Satis, <sup>7</sup> si ita vis, fortasse naturæ ; addo etiam, si placet, gloriæ : at quod maximum est, <sup>8</sup> patriæ certe parum. Quare omitte istam, quæso, <sup>9</sup> doctorum hominum in contemnenda morte prudentiam : noli nostro periculo esse sapiens. Sæpe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud nimis crebro dicere, tibi te satis vixisse. Credo : <sup>10</sup> sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses ; nunc, quum omnium salutem civium cunctamque rem publicam res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint, tantum abes <sup>11</sup> a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta nondum, quæ cogitas, jeceris. Hic tu modum vitæ tuæ, non salute rei publicæ, sed æquitate animi, defines ? <sup>12</sup> Quid ? si istud ne gloriæ tuæ quidem satis est ? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis. 26. <sup>13</sup> Parumne igitur, inquires, gloriam magnam relinquemus ? Immo vero aliis, quamvis multis, satis ; tibi uni parum. Quidquid est enim, quamvis amplum sit, est certe parum tunc, quum est aliquid amplius. Quod si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, <sup>14</sup> devictis adversariis, rem publicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est : vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura quam gloriæ : siquidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata magnorum, vel in suos cives, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum, fama meritorum.

IX. 27. <sup>1</sup>Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est: hic restat ætus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas, <sup>2</sup>æque tu in primis summa tranquillitate et otio perfruare: tum te, si voles, quum patriæ, quod debes, solveris, et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito. <sup>3</sup>Quid enim est omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum? quod quum venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, <sup>4</sup>quia postea nulla est futura. Quamquam iste tuus animus nunquam <sup>5</sup>his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit, semper immortalitatis amore flagravit. 28. <sup>6</sup>Nec vero hæc tua vita dueenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, inquam, illa vita est tua, quæ vigebit memoria seculorum omnium, quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. <sup>7</sup>Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes, oportet, quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jampridem multa habet, nunc etiam quæ laudet expectat. Obstupescunt posteri certe, imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumera-biles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos <sup>8</sup>audientes et legentes tuos. 29. Sed, nisi hæc urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modo nomen tuum longe atque late: sedem stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit inter eos etiam, qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, <sup>9</sup>magna dissensio, quum <sup>10</sup>alii laudibus ad cælum res tuas gestas effèrent, alii fortasse aliquid requirunt, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis incendium salute patriæ restinxeris: <sup>11</sup>ut illud fati fuisse videatur hoc consilii. <sup>12</sup>Servi igitur iis etiam iudiciis, qui multis post seculis de te iudicabunt, et quidem <sup>13</sup>haud scio an incorruptius, quam nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia iudicabunt. 30. Id autem etiam si tu ad te, ut <sup>14</sup>quidam falso putant, non pertinebit: nunc certe pertinet esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla unquam sit oblivio.

X. <sup>1</sup>Diversæ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententiæ. Non enim consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris dissidebamus; <sup>2</sup>erat enim obscuritas quædam: erat certamen inter <sup>3</sup>clarissimos duces: multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expediret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid

liceret. 31. <sup>4</sup>Perfuncta res publica est hoc misero fatalique bello : vicit is, qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret : <sup>5</sup>nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut morte dignos judicaret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis crepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui, armorum periculo liberatus, <sup>6</sup>animum tamen retinet armatum ; ut etiam ille melior sit, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia, videri potest. 32. Sed jam <sup>7</sup>omnis fracta dissensio est armis, extincta æquitate victoris : restat, ut omnes unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid, non solum sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in ista sententia, <sup>8</sup>qua quum antea, tum hodie vel maxime usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare <sup>9</sup>omnes te, qui hæc salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, ut vitæ tuæ et salutis consulas ; omnesque tibi (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, <sup>10</sup>quod de me ipse sentio), quoniam <sup>11</sup>subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modo <sup>12</sup>excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum pollicemur.

XI. 33. Sed ut, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio : <sup>1</sup>maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar, majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium precibus et lacrimis sentire potuisti : sed, quia <sup>2</sup>non est omnibus stantibus necesse dicere ; <sup>3</sup>a me certe dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quod fieri decet, M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et rei publicæ reddito, fieri id intelligo. Nam lætari omnes, <sup>4</sup>non de unius solum, sed de communi salute, sentio. 34. <sup>5</sup>Quod autem summæ benevolentiae est, <sup>6</sup>quæ mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, præter eum quidem, cederem nemini, quum id sollicitudine, cura, labore tandiu præstiterim, quamdiu est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore, magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. Itaque, C. Cæsar, <sup>7</sup>sic tibi gratias ago, ut, omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar, maximus hoc tuo facto cunulus accesserit.

## ORATIO

### PRO Q. LIGARIO.

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I. 1. <sup>1</sup>Novum crimen, C. Cæsar, et ante hunc diem inauditum, propinquus meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse; <sup>2</sup>idque C. Pansa, præstanti vir ingenio, fretus fortasse familiaritate ea, quæ est ei tecum, ausus est confiteri. Itaque, quo me vertam, nescio. <sup>3</sup>Paratus enim veneram, quum tu id neque per te scires, neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignoratione tua ad hominis miseri salutem abuterer. <sup>4</sup>Sed quoniam diligentia inimici investigatum est, quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor; præsertim quum meus necessarius Pansa fecerit, <sup>5</sup>ut id integrum jam non esset: omissaque controversia, omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conservati, quum a te non liberationem culpæ, sed errati veniam impetravissent. 2. Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum: sed tamen hoc confitentem, <sup>6</sup>se in ea parte fuisse, qua te, qua virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini neesse est, quam Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, quum esset nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam cum <sup>7</sup>C. Considio profectus est; qua in legatione, et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens Considius provincia satisfacere hominibus non posset, si quemquam alium provinciæ

præfecisset. Itaque Ligarius, <sup>8</sup> quum diu recusans nihil profecisset, provinciam accepit invitus; cui sic præfuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas ac fides. 3. <sup>9</sup> Bellum subito exarsit: <sup>10</sup> quod, qui erant in Africa, ante audierunt geram quam parari. Quo audito, partim <sup>11</sup> cupiditate inconsiderata, partim cæco quodam timore, <sup>12</sup> primo salutis, post etiam studii sui quærebant aliquem ducem; quum Ligarius <sup>13</sup> domum spectans, ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim <sup>14</sup> P. Atius Varus, qui prætor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam venit: ad eum statim concursus est. Atque ille non mediocri cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium esse potuit, quod ad privatum, clamore multitudinis imperitæ, nullo publico consilio deferebatur. 4. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, <sup>15</sup> paulum adventu Vari conquievit.

II. <sup>1</sup> Adhuc, C. Cæsar, Q. Ligarius omni culpa vacat. Domo est egressus non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli: legatus in pace profectus, in provincia <sup>2</sup> pacatissima ita se gessit, <sup>3</sup> ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet offendere: <sup>4</sup> num igitur remansio? Multo minus; nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio necessitatem etiam honestam. <sup>5</sup> Ergo hæc duo tempora carent crimine: unum, quum est legatus profectus; alterum, quum efflagitatus a provincia, præpositus Africæ est. 5. <sup>6</sup> Tertium tempus est, quo post adventum Vari, in Africa restitit: quod si est criminosum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. <sup>7</sup> An ille, si potuisset ullo modo evadere, Uticæ, quam Romæ, cum P. Atio, quam cum concordissimis fratribus, cum alienis esse, quam cum suis maluisset? <sup>8</sup> Quum ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset, propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic æquo animo esse potuit, belli discidio distractus a fratribus? 6. Nullum igitur habes, Cæsar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum <sup>9</sup> alienæ a te voluntatis. Cujus ego causam, animadvertite, quæso, <sup>10</sup> qua fide defendam: prodo meam. <sup>11</sup> O clementiam admirabilem, atque omnium laude, prædicatione, literis monumentisque decorandam! M. Cicero apud te <sup>12</sup> defendit, alium in ea volun-

tate non fuisse, in qua se ipsum confitetur fuisse, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit, <sup>13</sup> nec, quid tibi de alio audienti de se ipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, <sup>1</sup> quam non reformidem! vide, <sup>2</sup> quanta lux liberalitatis, et sapientiæ tuæ, mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur! Quantum potero, <sup>3</sup> voce contendam, ut hoc populus Romanus exaudiat. 7. Suscepto bello, Cæsar, gesto etiam ex parte magna, nullâ vi coactus, <sup>4</sup> iudicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? Nempe apud eum, qui, quum hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, rei publicæ reddidit: qui ad me <sup>5</sup> ex Ægypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset: qui me, quum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, <sup>6</sup> esse alterum passus est: <sup>7</sup> a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansa mihi hunc nuntium perferente, concessos laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi: qui mihi tum demique se salutem putavit reddere, si eam nullis spoliata ornamentis dedisset. 8. Vide, quæso, Tubero, <sup>8</sup> ut, qui de meo facto non dubitem, de Ligarii audeam dicere. Atque hæc propterea de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, quum de se eadem dicerem, ignosceret; <sup>9</sup> ejus ego industriæ gloriæque favco, vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quod ejus ingenio studiisque delector, vel quod laudem adolescentis propinqui existimo etiam <sup>10</sup> ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. 9. Sed hoc quæro: <sup>11</sup> quis putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa? Nempe is, qui et ipse in eadem Africa esse voluit, et prohibitum se a Ligario queritur, et certe contra ipsum Cæsarem est congressus armatus. Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille destriectus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? ejus latus ille mucro petebat? <sup>12</sup> qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgeo; commoveri videtur adolescens: ad me revertar; iisdem in armis fui.

IV. 10. Quid autem aliud <sup>1</sup> egimus, Tubero, nisi ut, quod hic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Cæsar, tuæ clementiæ laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem <sup>2</sup> te acuet oratio? Atque in hac causa <sup>3</sup> non nihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam, sed multo magis patris tui prudentiam desidero; quod

homo quum ingenio, tum etiam doctrina excellens, <sup>4</sup>genus hoc causæ quod esset, non viderit: nam, si vidisset, quovis profecto quam isto modo a te agi maluisset. <sup>5</sup>Arguis fatentem; non est satis: accusas eum, qui causam habet, aut, ut ego dico, meliorem quam tu: aut, ut tu vis, parem. 11. Hæc <sup>6</sup>admirabilia: sed prodigii simile est, quod dicam. <sup>7</sup>Non habet eam vim ista accusatio, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur, sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo. <sup>8</sup>Externi isti mores usque ad sanguinem incitari odio, aut levium Græcorum, aut immanium barbarorum. <sup>9</sup>Nam quid agis aliud? Romæ ne sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broeche, avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patria? Num est? num potest magis carere his omnibus, quam caret? Italia prohibetur, <sup>10</sup>exsulat. <sup>11</sup>Non tu ergo hunc patria privare, qua caret, sed vita, vis. 12. <sup>12</sup>At istud ne apud eum quidem dictatorem, qui omnes, quos oderat, morte multabat, quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante; <sup>13</sup>præmiis etiam invitabat; quæ tamen crudelitas <sup>14</sup>ab hoc eodem aliquot annis post, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

V. Ego vero <sup>1</sup>istud non postulo, inquires. Ita meherecule existimo, Tubero. Novi enim te, novi patrem, novi domum nomenque vestrum; <sup>2</sup>studia generis ac familiæ vestræ virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinæ, plurimarum artium atque optimarum nota mihi sunt. 13. Itaque certo scio, vos non petere sanguinem. Sed parum attenditis. <sup>3</sup>Res enim eo spectat, ut ea poena, in qua adhuc Q. Ligarius sit, non videamini esse contenti. <sup>4</sup>Quæ est igitur alia præter mortem? Si enim est in exsilio, sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur? Hoc vero multo acerbius, multoque durius. <sup>5</sup>Quod nos domi petimus precibus, lacrimis, strati ad pedes, non tam nostræ causæ fidentes, quam hujus humanitati, id ne impetremus, pugnabis? et in nostrum fletum irrumpes? et nos jacentes ad pedes supplicium voce prohibebis. 14. <sup>6</sup>Si, quum hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus et, ut spero, non frustra fecimus, tu repente irrupisses, et clamare cœpisses: “C. Cæsar, cave ignosceas, <sup>7</sup>cave te fratrum pro fratris salute

obsecrantium misereat;” nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi perimus, <sup>8</sup>id a te in foro oppugnari? te in tali miseria multorum <sup>9</sup>perflugium misericordiae tollere? 15. Dicam plane, Cæsar, quod sentio. Si in hanc tanta tua <sup>10</sup>fortuna, lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines (intelligo, quid loquar), acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria. Quam multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, <sup>11</sup>quum etiam de victis reperiantur? quam multi, qui, quum a te ignosci nemini vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, quum etiam <sup>12</sup>ii, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te esse in alios misericordem? 16. Quod si probare Cæsari possemus, in Africa Ligarium omnino non fuisse; <sup>13</sup>si honesto et misericordii mendacio, saluti civi calamitoso esse vellemus, tamen hominis non esset, in tanto discrimine et periculo civis, refellere et redarguere nostrum mendacium: et, si esset alicujus, ejus certe non esset, qui in eadem causa et fortuna fuisset. Sed tamen <sup>14</sup>aliud est errare Cæsarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tunc diceres: “Cæsar, cave credas: fuit in Africa; tulit arma contra te.” Nunc quid dicis? “Cave ignoscas.” <sup>15</sup>Hæc nec hominis, nec ad hominem vox est: qua, qui apud te, C. Cæsar, utitur, suam citius abjiciet humanitatem, quam extorquebit tuam.

VI. 17. Ac primus <sup>1</sup>aditus et postulatio Tuberonis hæc, ut opinor, fuit, velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non dubito, <sup>2</sup>quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio quisquam, vel quod is, qui in eadem causa fuisset, vel quidnam novi sceleris afferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? <sup>3</sup>Isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; alii timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem: scelus, præter te, adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen <sup>4</sup>nostri mali quæritur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse: ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. 18. <sup>5</sup>Liceat esse miseros; quamquam hoc victore esse non possumus: sed non loquor de nobis; de illis loquor, qui occiderunt. <sup>6</sup>Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris



vero crimine, furoris, parricidii, liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Cæsar, audivit? <sup>7</sup> aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt, nisi a te contumeliam propulsare? quid egit tuus ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur et dignitatem tuam? Quid? tu, <sup>8</sup> quum pacem esse cupiebas, idne agebas, <sup>9</sup> ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret? 19. Mihi vero, Cæsar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certe non viderentur, si me <sup>10</sup> ut sceleratum a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de re publica bene meritus esses, quum tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? <sup>11</sup> Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Cæsar, initio, non bellum; neque hostile odium, sed civile dissidium; <sup>12</sup> utrisque cupientibus rem publicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studiis, a communi utilitate aberrantibus. <sup>13</sup> Principum dignitas erat pæne par; non par fortasse eorum, qui sequebantur: causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utraque parte, quod probari posset: nunc melior ea judicanda est, quam etiam dii adjuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua, quis non eam victoriam probet, in qua occiderit nemo, nisi armatus?

VII. 20. Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus <sup>1</sup> ad nostram, utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africa exire, an vos in Africam non venire? <sup>2</sup> Poteramusne, inquires, quum senatus censuisset? Si me consulis, nullo modo. Sed tamen Ligarium senatus idem legaverat. Atque ille <sup>3</sup> eo tempore paruit, quum parere senatui necesse erat: vos tunc parvistis, quum paruit nemo, qui noluit. <sup>4</sup> Reprehendo igitur? Minime vero: neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi, nomini, familiæ, disciplinæ. Sed hoc non concedo, <sup>5</sup> ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis easdem in aliis reprehendatis. 21. <sup>6</sup> Tuberonis sors conjecta est ex senatus consulto, quum ipse non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat excusare. Hæc ego novi, <sup>7</sup> propter omnes necessitudines, quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone. Domi una eruditi, <sup>8</sup> militiæ contubernales, post affines, in omni denique vita familiares: magnum etiam vinculum, quod iisdem studiis semper usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse: sed ita <sup>9</sup> quidam agebat, ita rei publicæ sanctissimum nomen oppone-

bat, ut etiamsi aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset. 22. Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri, vel potius paruit. Una est profectus cum iis, <sup>10</sup> quorum erat una causa; tardius iter fecit. Itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam. <sup>11</sup> Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur, vel ira potius: nam, <sup>12</sup> si crimen est ullum voluisse, non minus magnum est vos Africam, arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse, quam aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere dicebat; fasces certe habebat. 23. Sed <sup>13</sup> quoquo modo se illud habet, <sup>14</sup> hæc querela vestra quid valet? "Recepti in provinciam non sumus." Quid si essetis? Cæsarine eam tradituri fuistis, an contra Cæsarem retenturi?

VIII. Vide, quid licentiæ, Cæsar, nobis tua liberalitas det, vel potius audaciæ. Si responderit Tubero Africam, <sup>1</sup> quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fuisse, <sup>2</sup> non dubitabo apud ipsum te, cujus id eum facere interfuit, gravissimis verbis ejus consilium reprehendere. Non enim si tibi <sup>3</sup> ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata. 24. Sed jam hoc totum omitto; non tam ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures, <sup>4</sup> quam ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturum fuisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in Africam provinciam, unam ex omnibus <sup>5</sup> huic victoriæ maxime infestam, in qua erat rex potentissimus, inimicus huic causæ, aliena voluntas, conventus firmi atque magni. Quæro, quid facturi fuistis. Quamquam, quid facturi fueritis, dubitem, quum videam, quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis in provincia vestra pedem ponere, et prohibiti summa cum <sup>6</sup> injuria. 25. Quomodo id tulistis? Acceptæ injuriæ querelam ad quem detulistis? Nempe ad eum, <sup>7</sup> cujus auctoritatem secuti, in societatem belli veneratis. Quod si, Cæsaris causa, in provinciam veniebatis, ad eum profecto exclusi provincia venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. <sup>8</sup> Quæ est ergo apud Cæsarem querela, quum eum accusetis, a quo queramini, prohibitos vos contra Cæsarem gerere bellum? <sup>9</sup> Atque in hoc quidem vel cum mendacio, si vultis, gloriemini, per me licet, vos provinciam fuisse Cæsari tradituros. Etiamsi a Varo, et a cuibusdam aliis prohibiti

estis, ego tamen confitebor, culpam esse Ligarii, <sup>10</sup> qui vos tantæ laudis occasione privaverit.

IX. 26. Sed vide, quæso, Cæsar, <sup>1</sup> constantiam ornatissimi viri, L. Tiberonis: quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi <sup>2</sup> a te cognovissem in primis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quæ fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? constantiam dico? <sup>3</sup> nescio, an melius patientiam possim dicere. <sup>4</sup> Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus, esset etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eos ipsos rediret? <sup>5</sup> Magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri, quem de suscepta causa, propositaque sententia, nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum possit depellere. 27. <sup>6</sup> Ut enim cetera paria Tiberoni cum Varo fuissent, honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ nequaquam fuerunt; <sup>7</sup> hoc certe præcipuum Tiberonis, quod justo cum imperio ex senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. <sup>8</sup> Hinc prohibitus non ad Cæsarem, ne iratus; non domum, ne iners; non in aliquam regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus esset, videretur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a qua erat rejectus cum injuria. 28. <sup>9</sup> Quid? quum ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis, languidiore, credo, studio in causa fuistis: tantummodo in præsiidiis eratis, animi vero a causa abhorrebant: <sup>10</sup> an, ut fit in civilibus bellis, nec in vobis magis quam in reliquis; omnes enim vincendi studio tenebamur. <sup>11</sup> Pacis equidem semper auctor fui: sed tum sero; erat enim amentis, quum aciem videres, pacem cogitare. Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus: <sup>12</sup> tu certe præcipue, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses: quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriae.

X. 29. Hæc ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut <sup>1</sup> vos constantiæ vestræ, aut Cæsarem beneficii sui pœniteret. Nunc quæro, utrum vestras injurias, <sup>2</sup> an rei publicæ persequamini? Si rei publicæ: quid de vestra <sup>3</sup> in illa causa perseverantia respondebitis? si vestras, videte, ne erretis, <sup>4</sup> qui Cæsarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, quum ignoverit suis.

Itaque <sup>6</sup> num tibi videor in causa Ligarii esse occupatus? num de ejus facto dicere? Quidquid dixi, <sup>6</sup> ad unam summam referri volo vel humanitatis, vel clementiæ, vel misericordiæ. 30. Causas, Cæsar, <sup>7</sup> egi multas, et quidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum; certe nunquam hoc modo: *Ignoscite, judices; erravit; lapsus est; non putavit: <sup>8</sup> si unquam posthac. <sup>9</sup> Apud parentem sic agi solet: ad judices, Non fecit, non cogitavit; falsi testes, fictum crimen.* Dic te, Cæsar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse: quibus in præsiidiis fuerit, quære. Taceo; <sup>10</sup> ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem; “Legatus ante bellum <sup>11</sup> profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, totus animo ac studio tuus.” Ad judicem sic agi solet; sed ego <sup>12</sup> ad parentem loquor: Erravit, temere fecit, pœnitet: ad elementiam tuam confugio, delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro. Si nemo impetravit. <sup>13</sup> arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. 31. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, quum <sup>14</sup> mihi apud te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam neque in hac oratione spes est posita causæ, nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. <sup>1</sup> Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maxime spectares, quum pro alicujus salute multi laborarent: causas apud te rogantium <sup>2</sup> gratiosiores esse quam vultus: neque te spectare, quam tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret, sed quam illius, pro quo laboraret. <sup>3</sup> Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruuntur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedas. Sed video tamen apud te causas, ut dixi, valere plus quam preces, ab iisque te moveri maxime quorum justissimum videas dolorem in petendo. 32. In Q. Ligario conservando, multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis; sed hoc, quæso, considera, <sup>4</sup> quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos, <sup>5</sup> tibi probatissimos, totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiæ, robur rei publicæ proponere. Nosti optime homines: ani madverte horum omnium mæstitiam et dolorem. <sup>6</sup> Hujus T Brocchi, de quo non dubito quid existimes, lacrimas squaloremque ipsius et filii vides. 33. Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli,

Cæsar, putare, de unius capite nos agere: aut tres <sup>7</sup> tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est optatius, quam patria, quam domus, quam dii penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore faciunt, moveant te horum lacrimæ, moveat pietas, moveat <sup>9</sup> germanitas; valeat tua vox illa, quæ vicit. Te enim dicere audiebamus nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent: <sup>9</sup> te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne igitur hunc splendorem omnium, hanc Broecchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Cræsetium, <sup>10</sup> L. Corfidium, hosce omnes equites Romanos, qui adsunt <sup>11</sup> veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam probatos viros? Tecum fuerunt. Atque his irascebamur, hos requirebamus, his nonnulli etiam minabantur. <sup>12</sup> Conserva igitur tuis suos: ut, quemadmodum cetera, quæ dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.

XII. 34. Quod si penitus perspicere posses <sup>1</sup> concordiam Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum iudicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia <sup>2</sup> esse potuisset, in eadem sententia fuisset futurus, in qua fratres fuerunt? <sup>3</sup> Quis est, qui horum consensum conspirantem, et pæne conflatum, in hac prope æqualitate fraterna non noverit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisse, quam ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? <sup>4</sup> Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptus est unus; qui si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. 35. <sup>5</sup> Sed ierit ad bellum, discesserit non a te solum, verum etiam a fratribus, hi te orant tui. <sup>6</sup> Equidem, quum tuis omnibus negotiis interesset, memoria teneo, qualis tum T. Ligarius quæstor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi injurias, <sup>7</sup> quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui, <sup>8</sup> te aliquid de hujus illo quæstorio officio, etiam de aliis quibusdam quæstoribus reminiscentem recordari. 36. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud (neque enim hæc divinabat), nisi ut tu eum tui studiosum, et bonum virum iudicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit. <sup>9</sup> Quam hujus admonitus

officio, quum utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos, non solum sibi ipsos, neque his tot ac talibus viris, neque nobis necessariis, sed etiam rei publicæ condonaveris. 37. <sup>10</sup> Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo fecisti nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro, de optimis, et huic omni frequentię probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti <sup>11</sup> illum senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si <sup>12</sup> ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit; noli, obsecro, dubitare, C. Cæsar, similem illi glorię laudem quam sæpissime quærere. Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas; <sup>13</sup> nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior, nec gratior misericordia est; homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. 38. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, <sup>14</sup> quam ut possis, nec natura melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certe natura brevior. Quare, <sup>15</sup> quum utilius esse arbitrer, te ipsum, quam me aut quemquam, loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantum te admonebo, si illi absentis salutem dederis, præsentibus his omnibus te daturum.

PRO

# R E G E D E I O T A R O

AD

C Æ S A R E M

ORATIO.



I. 1. <sup>1</sup>QUUM in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Cæsar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius, quam videatur vel usus vel <sup>2</sup>ætas mea postulare, tum in hac causa ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat. <sup>3</sup>Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis; <sup>4</sup>quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo, tamen est ita inusitatum, regem reum capitis esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. 2. <sup>5</sup>Deinde eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebamus, pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rem publicam <sup>6</sup>meritis, nunc contra atrocissimum crimen cogor defendere. <sup>7</sup>Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate conturber. <sup>8</sup>Crudelis Castor, ne dicam sceleratum et impium; qui nepos avum in capitis discrimen adduxerit, <sup>9</sup>adolescentiæque suæ terrorem intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque incuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit; avi servum, corruptum præmiis, ad accusandum dominum <sup>10</sup>impulerit, a legatorum pedibus abduerit. 3. Fugitivi autem dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem, et dominum amicissimum nostræ rei publicæ, quum os vide-

bam, quum verba audiebam, non tam afflictam <sup>11</sup>regiam conditionem dolebam, quam de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam, quum more majorum <sup>12</sup>de servo in dominum, ne tormentis quidem, quæri liceat, in qua quæstione dolor elicere veram vocem possit etiam ab invito: <sup>13</sup>exortus est servus, qui, quem in equuleo appellare non posset, eum accuset solutus.

II. 4. Perturbat me, C. Cæsar, etiam <sup>1</sup>illud interdum; quod tamen, quum te penitus recognovi, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia fit æquissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cuius vitam <sup>2</sup>consilium facinoris inisse arguare, si per se ipsum consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi iudex, non sibi se <sup>3</sup>æquiores, quam reo præbeat. Sed tua, Cæsar, præstans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit; non enim tam timeo, <sup>4</sup>quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid de te ceteros velis iudicare. 5. <sup>5</sup>Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in qua <sup>6</sup>oratorum studia niti solent: in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque acquiesco; te unum intueor; ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio. <sup>7</sup>Quæ mihi ad spem obtinendæ veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi, et ad omnem impetum dicendi contentionemque leviora. 6. Hanc enim, C. Cæsar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non faveret, cuius omnem ætatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, cælum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, quum et deorum immortalium, et populi Romani, et senatus beneficia in regem Deiotarum recorderer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. 7. <sup>8</sup>Quæ quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actioque maximæ causæ debilitatur loco, tuum est, Cæsar, qui pro multis sæpe dixisti, quid mihi nunc animi sit, <sup>9</sup>ad te ipsum referre; quo facilius quum æquitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuatur hanc perturbationem meam. Sed antequam de accusatione ipsa dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam. <sup>10</sup>Qui quum videantur nec ingenio, nec usu atque exercitatione



rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.

III. 8. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii; <sup>1</sup> affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis, propter offensionem animi tui meminerant; teque quum huic iratum, <sup>2</sup> tum sibi amicum esse cognoverant; <sup>3</sup> quumque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo facile fictum crimen insideret. Quamobrem hoc nos primum, Cæsar, metu, <sup>4</sup> per fidem et constantiam, et per clementiam tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiæ suspicemur. <sup>5</sup> Per dexteram istam te oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti: istam, inquam, dexteram, <sup>6</sup> non tam in bellis, nec in præliis, quam in promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu <sup>7</sup> illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti; te ejus dii penates acceperunt; te amicum et placatum Deiotari regis aræ focique viderunt. 9. <sup>8</sup> Quum facile exorari, Cæsar, tum semel exorari soles; nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedissee in te simultatis reliquias senserit. Quamquam cui sunt inauditæ cum Deiotaro <sup>9</sup> querelæ tuæ? Nunquam tu illum accusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod propensior in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset, quam in tuam. <sup>10</sup> Cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tantum auxilia Pompeio, vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse ætatis excusatione usus esset. Ita <sup>11</sup> quum maximis cum rebus liberares, perparvam amicitiae culpam relinquebas. 10. Itaque non solum in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti.

IV. <sup>1</sup> Neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. Is rex, quem senatus hoc nomine sæpe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique, quum illius ordinem ab adolescentia gravissimum sanctissimumque <sup>2</sup> duxisset, iisdem rebus est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos in media re publica nati, semperque versati, II. quum audiret, senatus consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta; <sup>3</sup> consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis, nobis imperatoribus rem publicam defendendam datam, movebatur animo, et vir, huic imperio amicissimus, de salute po-

puli Romani extimescebat, in qua etiam suam esse inclusam videbat; in summo tamen timore quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. Maxime vero perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italia profugisse, omnesque consulares <sup>4</sup> (sic enim ei nuntiabatur), eunctum senatum, totam Italiam esse effusam: <sup>5</sup> talibus enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem via, nec ulli veri subsequerentur. Nihil ille <sup>6</sup> de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quae quum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio legati ad eum literaeque venerunt. 12. Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus; ad quem <sup>7</sup> quum dii atque homines omnia ornamenta congegissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima. Neque enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, ideo Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quantae opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, <sup>8</sup> quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tanto ille <sup>9</sup> superiores vicerat gloria, quanto tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus; tuos enumerare non possumus.

V. 13. <sup>1</sup> Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit, hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat, quocumque erat non hospitio solum, verum etiam familiaritate conjunctus; <sup>2</sup> et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus, vel arcessitus, ut socius, vel evocatus, <sup>3</sup> ut is, qui senatui parere didicisset; postremo venit ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad periculi, non ad victoriae societatem. <sup>4</sup> Itaque Pharsalico proelio facto, a Pompeio discessit; spem infinitam persequi noluit; <sup>5</sup> vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit; domum se contulit, atque Alexandrinum bellum gerente te, utilitatibus tuis paruit. 14. Ille <sup>6</sup> exercitum Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tectis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum <sup>7</sup> ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit, ille <sup>8</sup> iterum, ille tertio, auctionibus factis, pecuniam dedit, qua ad bellum uterere; ille corpus suum

periculo objecit, tecumque in acie contra Pharnacem fuit, tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. <sup>9</sup> Quæ quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Cæsar, ut eum amplissimo honore et regis nomine affe-  
ceris. 15. Is igitur, non modo a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, <sup>10</sup> arguitur domi te suæ interficere voluisse. Quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judices, suspicari profecto non potes. <sup>11</sup> Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, in conspectu deorum penatium, necare hospitem; cujus tantæ importunitatis, omnium gentium atque omnis memoriæ clarissimum lumen extinguere; cujus tantæ ferocitatis victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus tam inhumani et ingrati animi, <sup>12</sup> a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo tyrannum inveniri: ut hæc omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit, <sup>13</sup> omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnes liberos populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare? <sup>14</sup> Quonam ille modo, cum regno, cum domo, cum conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset, tanto scelere non modo profecto, sed etiam cogitato?

VI. 16. <sup>1</sup> At, credo, hæc homo inconsultus et temerarius non videbat.—Quis consideratior illo? <sup>2</sup> quis tectior? quis prudentior? <sup>3</sup> quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentia, quam fide et religione vitæ defendendum puto. Nota tibi est hominis probitas, C. Cæsar, noti mores, nota constantia. <sup>4</sup> Cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est? <sup>5</sup> Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset, propter metum præsentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo, et ab homine minime stulto cogitatum esse confugitis. 17. <sup>6</sup> At quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose quidem! Quum, <sup>7</sup> inquit, in castellum Luceium venisses et domum regis, hospitis tui, devertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus te rex munerare constituerat. Huc te e balneo, priusquam accumberes, ducere volebat: ibi enim erant armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. <sup>8</sup> Eo crimen, eo causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset. Ego mehercules, Cæsar, initio, quum est ad me ista causa delata, Phi-

dippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab <sup>9</sup> isto adolescente esse corruptum, hac sum suspitione percussus: medicum indicem subornavit; finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni. Etsi a veritate longe, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorrebat. 18. Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno. At id fieri potuit primo occultius in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam impunitus fit, quod quum est factum, negari potest. Si <sup>10</sup> palam te interemisisset, omnium in se gentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset; si veneno, <sup>11</sup> Jovis ille quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines fortasse celasset. Quod igitur et conari occultius, et efficere cautius potuit, id tibi, et medico callido et servo, ut putabat, fideli, non credidit? de armis, de ferro, de insidiis <sup>12</sup> celare te noluit? 19. At quam festive crimen contextitur! Tua te, <sup>13</sup> inquit, eadem, quæ semper, fortuna servavit: negavisti tum te inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea? an Deiotarus, <sup>1</sup> re illo tempore non perfecta, continuo dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eodem te, quum cœnavisses, rediturum dixeras: <sup>2</sup> itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere <sup>3</sup> magnum fuit? Quum in convivio comiter et jucunde fuisses, tum illuc isti, ut dixeras. <sup>4</sup> Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit: cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asia; quæ Africanus, inspectante exercitu, accepit. Quod quum <sup>5</sup> præsens Deiotarus regio et animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti. 20. Obsecro, Cæsar, <sup>6</sup> repete illius temporis memoriam, pone illum ante oculos diem, vultus hominum te intuentium atque admirantium recordare. Num quæ trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina? Quid igitur causæ excogitari potest, <sup>7</sup> cur te lotum voluerit, cœnatum noluerit occidere? 21. In posterum, <sup>8</sup> inquit, diem distulit, ut quum in castellum Luceium ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret. Non video causam mutandi loci; sed tamen <sup>9</sup> acta res criminose est. Quum, inquit, <sup>10</sup> vomere post cœnam te velle dixisses, in balneum te du-

cere cœperunt: ibi enim erant insidiæ. At te eadem tua illa fortuna servavit: <sup>11</sup> in cubiculo malle dixisti. <sup>12</sup> Dii te perduint, fugitive! ita non modo nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et amens es. Quid? ille <sup>13</sup> signa ænea in insidiis posuerat, quæ e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent? <sup>14</sup> Habes crimina insidiarum: nihil enim dixit amplius; <sup>15</sup> horum, inquit, eram conscius. Quid tum? ita ille demens erat, ut eum, quem tanti sceleris conscium haberet, a se dimitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem suum, et C. Cæsarem, cui fecisset insidias? præsertim quum <sup>16</sup> is unus esset, qui posset de absente se judicare? 22. Et fratres meos, inquit, quod erant conscii, in vincula coniecit. Quum igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habebat, te solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quæ illos scire dicis?

VIII. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: <sup>1</sup> una, regem semper in speculis fuisse, quum a te animo esset alieno; altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Nunquam <sup>2</sup> eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus et latrociniiis tueretur, et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque <sup>3</sup> antea quidem majores copias alere poterat; nunc exiguas vix tueri potest. 23. <sup>4</sup> At misit ad Cæcilium nescio quem: sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula coniecit. Non quæro, quam veri simile sit, aut non habuisse regem, <sup>5</sup> quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut qui dicto audientes in tanta re non fuissent, eos vinctos potius quam necatos. Sed tamen quum ad Cæcilium mittebat, utrum <sup>6</sup> causam illam victam esse nesciebat, an Cæcilium istum magnum hominem putabat? quem profecto is, qui optime nostros homines novit, vel quia nosset, vel quia non nosset, contemneret. 24. <sup>7</sup> Addit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse. Credo, Cæsar; nihil ad tuum equitatum; sed misit ex iis, quos habuit, delectos. At nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitrator, non audiivi; sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

IX. Alieno autem a te animo quomodo? <sup>1</sup> Speravit, credo,

difficiles tibi Alexandræ fore exitus, propter regionum naturam et fluminis. At eo tempore ipso pecuniam dedit, exercitum aluit; <sup>2</sup>ei, quem Asiæ præfeceras, nulla in re defuit; tibi victori non solum ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam, atque ad aciem præsto fuit. 25. Secutum est <sup>3</sup>bellum Africanum; graves de te rumores; qui etiam furiosum illum Cæcilium excitaverunt. Quo tum rex animo fuit? qui auctionatus sit, seseque spoliare maluerit, quam tibi pecuniam non subministrare. <sup>4</sup>At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicæam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent, et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque quum esset ei nunciatum, Domitium naufragio <sup>5</sup>periisse, te in castello circumsederi, de Domitio dixit versum Græcum eadem sententia, qua etiam nos habemus Latinum:

Pereant amici, dum una inimici intercendant,

quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixisset: ipse enim mansuetus, <sup>6</sup>versus immanis. <sup>7</sup>Qui autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quo quum vel interfici, belli lege, potuisset, regem et se et filium suum constitutos esse meminisset? 26. Quid deinde? <sup>8</sup>fureifer quo progreditur? Ait, hæc lætitia Deiotarum elatum, vino se obruisse, in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quæ crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam, aut ebrium vidit unquam? Omnes in illo sunt rege virtutes, quod te, Cæsar, ignorare non arbitror, sed præcipue singularis et admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari regem non solere. <sup>9</sup>Frugi hominem dici, non multum habet laudis in rege; fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, liberalem, hæc sunt regiae laudes; illa privata est. Ut volet quisque accipiat; ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem maximam iudico. <sup>10</sup>Hæc in illo est ab ineunte ætate, quum a cuncta Asia, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. 27. Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rem publicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen

ascendit; sed tamen <sup>11</sup>quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, eum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque jungebat, ut non solum tetrarches nobilis, sed etiam optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius haberetur. <sup>12</sup>Qui igitur adolescens, nondum tanta gloria præditus, nihil unquam nisi severissime et gravissime fecerit, is ea existimatione, eaque ætate saltavit?

X. 28. Imitari, Castor, potius avi tui mores disciplinamque debebas, quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledicere. <sup>1</sup>Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaque exempla peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minime <sup>2</sup>in illam ætatem conveniret. <sup>3</sup>Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte ætate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optime ut equis uteretur, ea tamen illum cuncta jam exacta ætate defecerant. Itaque Deiotarum quum plures in equum sustulissent, <sup>4</sup>quod hæere in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. <sup>5</sup>Hic vero adolescens, qui meus in Cilicia miles, in Græcia comilito fuit, quum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret eum suis delectis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat! quam se jactare! quam ostentare! quam nemini in illa causa studio et cupiditate concedere!

29. Quum vero, <sup>6</sup>exercitu amisso, ego, qui pacis semper auctor, post Pharsalicum prælium suasor fui armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum; hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, <sup>7</sup>quod et ipse ardebat studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. <sup>8</sup>Felix ista domus, quæ non impunitatem solum adeptæ sit, sed accusandi etiam licentiam; calamitosus Deiotarus, qui ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modo apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur. Vos vestra secunda fortuna, Castor, non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?

XI. 30. <sup>1</sup>Sint sane inimicitia, quæ esse non debebant: rex enim Deiotarus vestram familiam, aljectam et obscuram, e tenebris in lucem evocavit. <sup>2</sup>Quis tuum patrem antea, qui esset, quam cujus gener esset, audivit? Sed quamvis ingræte et impie

necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias <sup>3</sup> hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis accessere. Esto; <sup>4</sup> concedatur hæc quoque acerbitas et odii magnitudo: adeone, ut omnia vitæ salutisque communis, atque etiam humanitatis jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum armare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis nefarium bellum indicere. <sup>5</sup> Nam ista corruptela servi, si non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tanta auctoritate approbata, nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impune evolare potest, contraque nos pugnare, <sup>6</sup> fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus. 31. O tempora, O mores! Cn. Domitius ille, quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, quum tribunus plebis M. Scaurum, principem civitatis, <sup>7</sup> in judicium populi vocasset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset, prehendi hominem jussit, ad Scaurumque deduci. <sup>8</sup> Vide, quid intersit; etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo abduxisti; ille incorruptum audire noluit, tu corrupisti; ille adiutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti. 32. At semel iste est corruptus a vobis? Nonne, quum esset productus, et quum tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? nonne, audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium cœnabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsum esse confessus est?

XII. <sup>1</sup> Quæ est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? ideireo in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumperes, domesticaque immanitate nostræ civitatis humanitatem inquinares? 33. <sup>2</sup> At quam acute collecta crimina! <sup>3</sup> Blesamius, inquit, (ejus enim nomine, optimi viri nec tibi ignoti, maledicebat tibi,) ad regem scribere solebat, te in invidia esse, tyrannum existimari; <sup>4</sup> statua inter reges posita



animos hominum vehementer offensos: plaudī tibi non solere. Nonne intelligis, Cæsar, <sup>5</sup> ex urbanis malevolorum sermuculis hæc ab istis esse collecta? <sup>6</sup> Blesamius tyrannum Cæsarem scriberet? <sup>7</sup> Multorum enim capita civium viderat; multos jussu Cæsaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos; multas afflictas et eversas domos armatis militibus refertum forum. Quæ semper in civili victoria sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus. 34. Solus, inquam, es, C. Cæsar, cujus in victoria <sup>8</sup> ceciderit nemo, nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi, in summa populi Romani libertate nati, non modo non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoria ducimus, is Blesamio, qui vivit <sup>9</sup> in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis queritur, <sup>10</sup> una præsertim, quam tam multas videat? Valde enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropæis non invidimus. <sup>11</sup> Nami si locus affert invidiam, nullus est, ad statuam quidem, Rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnunquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsa admiratione compressus est, et fortasse eo prætermisus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. 35. Nihil a me arbitror prætermisum, sed aliquid ad extremam causæ partem reservatum. Id autem aliquid est, te ut plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea: non enim jam metuo, ne illi tu succenseas; illud vereor, <sup>1</sup> ne tibi illum succensere aliquid suspicere. <sup>2</sup> Quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Cæsar: <sup>3</sup> quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit; neque se a te multatum arbitratur; sed quum existimares, <sup>4</sup> multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, <sup>5</sup> quominus a se, qui in altera parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. 36. Etenim <sup>6</sup> si Antiochus magnus ille, rex Asiæ, posteaquam a L. Scipione devictus, Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset, omnemque hanc Asiæ, quæ est nunc nostra provincia, amisisset, dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur, potest multo facilius se Deiotarus consolari. <sup>7</sup> Ille enim furoris multam sustulerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Cæsar, tribuisti, quum et ipsi et filio <sup>8</sup> nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque servato, nullum beneficium po-

pua Romani, nullum iudicium de se senatus imminutum putat; magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunæ quidem. 37. <sup>9</sup>Multa se arbitratur et peperisse ante factis, et habere in animo atque virtute, quæ nullo modo possit amittere. Quæ enim fortuna, aut quis casus, aut quæ tanta possit injuria omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere? ab omnibus est enim iis ornatus, qui, <sup>10</sup>posteaquam in castris esse potuit per ætatem, in Asia, Cappadocia, Ponto, Cilicia, Syria, bella gesserunt. Senatus vero iudicia de illo tam multa, tanque honorifica, quæ publicis populi Romani literis monumentisque consignata sunt, quæ unquam vetustas obruet, aut quæ tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia? <sup>11</sup>quæ omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola bona esse dixerunt, hisque, non modo ad bene, sed etiam ad beate vivendum, contentam esse virtutem. 38. Hæc ille reputans, et dies noctesque cogitans, non modo tibi non succenset (esset enim non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum omnem tranquillitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert clementiæ tuæ.

XIV. <sup>1</sup>Quo quidem animo quum antea fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis literis, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone huic Blesanio dedisti, se magis etiam exerceat ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. <sup>2</sup>Jubes enim bene sperare, et bono esse animo: quod scio te non frustra scribere solere; meminim enim iisdem fere verbis ad me te scribere, meque tuis literis bene sperare non frustra esse jussum. 39. <sup>3</sup>Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia et in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt; sed quum de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, <sup>4</sup>quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec hæerere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere, ut quisquam te timere incipiat eorum, qui sint semel a te liberati timore. 40. Non debeo, C. Cæsar, <sup>5</sup>quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, tentare, equoniam

modo dicendo misericordiam tuam commovere possim. Nihil opus est; occurrere solet ipsa supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. <sup>6</sup>Proponere tibi duos reges, et id animo contem-  
plare, quod oculis non potes. <sup>7</sup>Dabis profecto misericordiae, quod iracundiae denegavisti. Multa sunt tuae clementiae monumenta, <sup>8</sup>sed maxime eorum incolunitates, quibus salutem dedisti. <sup>9</sup>Quae si in privatis gloriosa sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit; sociorum vero regum et amicorum sanctissimum.

XV. 41. <sup>1</sup>Quod nomen hi reges ne amitterent, te victore, timuerunt; retentum vero, et a te confirmatum, posteris etiam suis tradituros esse confido. <sup>2</sup>Corpora sua, pro salute regum suorum, hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras, et Blesamius, et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jamdiu noti, eademque fide et virtute praeditus Dorylaeus, <sup>3</sup>qui nuper cum Hiera legatus est ad te missus, quum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. 42. Exquire de Blesamio, numquid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit, <sup>4</sup>et erimibus illis pro rege se suppouit reum; memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales plurimum; negat unquam <sup>5</sup>se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia pedem discessisse; in primis finibus tibi se praesto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos persecutum; quum e balneo exisses, tecum se fuisse; quum illa munera inspexisses coenatus, quum in cubiculo recubisses; eandemque assiduitatem tibi se praebuisse postridie. 43. <sup>6</sup>Quamobrem, si quid eorum, quae objecta sunt, cogitatum sit, non recusat, quin id suum facinus iudices. Quocirca, C. Caesar, <sup>7</sup>velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam, aut cum summo dedecore miseriam pestem importaturam esse regibus, aut incolumem famam cum salute, <sup>8</sup>quorum alterum optare, illorum crudelitatis est, alterum conservare, clementiae tuae.

ORATIO  
DE  
IMPERIO CN. POMPEII  
SIVE  
PRO LEGE MANILIA.

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I. 1. QUAMQUAM mihi semper <sup>1</sup> frequens conspectus vester, multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus, ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites; tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optino cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed <sup>2</sup> vitæ meæ rationes, ab ineunte ætate susceptæ, prohibuerunt. Nam, quum antea <sup>3</sup> per ætatem nondum <sup>4</sup> hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem, statueremque, nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria, afferri oportere; omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. 2. <sup>5</sup> Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in privatorum periculis <sup>6</sup> caste integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam quum, propter <sup>7</sup> dilationem comitorum, ter prætor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et <sup>8</sup> quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, quum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre; certe, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est,

ea apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; <sup>9</sup> et, si quid in dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. 3. Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, <sup>10</sup> quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute; hujus autem orationis difficilium est exitum, quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. 4. Atque, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde hæc omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum <sup>1</sup> vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus inferitur, Mithridate et Tigraue; quorum <sup>2</sup> alter relictus, alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literæ (<sup>3</sup> quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatæ; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quæ mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicæ periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt): 5. <sup>4</sup> Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia est, vicis exustos esse complures; <sup>5</sup> regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucillum magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere; <sup>6</sup> huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti; eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, præterea neminem.

6. <sup>7</sup> Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est enim belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat; <sup>8</sup> in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis a majoribus, quum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; <sup>9</sup> aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis, et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli <sup>10</sup> requi-

retis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis, et ipsorum et rei publicæ causa, consulendum.

III. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est <sup>1</sup>illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore concepta: quæ <sup>2</sup>penitus jam insedit, ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quod is, qui <sup>3</sup>uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una significatione literarum, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc pœnam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto, neque Cappadociæ latebris occultare velit, sed <sup>4</sup>emergere e patrio regno, atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiæ luce versari. 8. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo <sup>5</sup>insignia victoriæ, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Veruntamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, <sup>6</sup>quod egerunt: venia danda, quod reliquerunt; propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. 9. Mithridates autem <sup>1</sup>omne reliquum tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparisonem novi contulit: <sup>2</sup>qui, posteaquam maximas ædificasset ornassetque classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset, et se Bosporianis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac literas misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, quum duobus in <sup>3</sup>locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis, uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti, de imperio dimicaretis. 10. Sed tamen <sup>4</sup>alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniæ, quæ multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata. <sup>5</sup>ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque præclara, non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti; hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper acciderunt, non culpæ,

sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque <sup>6</sup>vera laus ei detracta oratione nostra, neque falsa afficta esse videatur. 11. De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est <sup>7</sup>exorsus orationis meæ, videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores nostri sæpe, mercatoribus aut naviculariis injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, tot millibus civium Romanorum <sup>1</sup>uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod <sup>2</sup>erant appellati superbis, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Græciæ lumen extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiimini, qui <sup>3</sup>legatum populi Romani, consularem, vinculis ac verberibus, atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? <sup>4</sup>Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt; vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt; vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? 12. Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

<sup>6</sup>Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminet <sup>6</sup>duo reges toti Asiæ, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Græcia vestrum auxilium expectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deponere, quem præsertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent, neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. 13. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, <sup>7</sup>quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo etiam carent ægrius: <sup>8</sup>cujus adventu pro-  
atque nomine, tametsi ille <sup>9</sup>ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. <sup>10</sup>Illi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis; <sup>11</sup>atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejusmodi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi

ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. <sup>12</sup> Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident, tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

VI. 14. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis, cum Pœnis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio <sup>1</sup> convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere? præsertim quum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur.

Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, <sup>2</sup> tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus; Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum, quæ exportantur, <sup>3</sup> facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. 15. Nam in ceteris rebus, quum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur; at <sup>4</sup> in vectigalibus, non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam quum hostium copiarum non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est, tamen <sup>5</sup> pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, atque uno belli terrore amittitur. 16. Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis <sup>6</sup> pensitant, aut eos, qui excreent atque exigunt, quum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? quum una excursio equitatus perbreve tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? quum publicani <sup>7</sup> familias maximas, quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portibus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt conservaveritis, non solum (ut ante dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

VII. 17. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod



mili ego <sup>1</sup> extremum proposueram, quum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; <sup>2</sup> quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatis-  
simi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt; quo-  
rum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ vobis curæ esse debent. Etenim  
si vectigalia <sup>3</sup> nervos esse rei publicæ semper duximus, eum certe  
ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte  
esse dicemus. 18. <sup>4</sup> Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines navi  
atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus  
consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias mag-  
nas collocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum  
numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere; sapientiæ, videre,  
multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non  
posse. Etenim primum <sup>5</sup> illud parvi refert, nos, <sup>6</sup> publicanis amissis,  
vectigalia postea victoria recuperare: neque enim iisdem redimendi  
facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas, propter timo-  
rem. 19. <sup>7</sup> Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia, atque idem iste Mithri-  
dates initio belli Asiatici docuit, certe id quidem calamitate docti,  
memoria retinere debemus: nam tum, quum in Asia res magnas  
permulti amiserant, scimus, <sup>8</sup> Romæ solutione impedita, fidem con-  
cidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem atque fortu-  
nas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem.  
A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et mihi credite, <sup>9</sup> id quod  
ipsi videtis: hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ,  
quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et  
cohæret; ruere <sup>10</sup> illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefacta  
motu concidant. Quare videte, <sup>11</sup> num dubitandum vobis sit, omni  
studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus  
sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium cum re  
publica defenduntur.

VIII. 20. Quoniam de genere belli <sup>1</sup> dixi, nunc de magnitu-  
dine pauca dicam. Potest hoc enim dici: belli genus esse ita  
necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita magnum, ut sit perti-  
mescendum. <sup>2</sup> In quo maxime laborandum est, ne forte a vobis,

quæ diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnuenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro, et sapienti homini, et magno imperatori debeatur, <sup>3</sup> dico, ejus adventu maximas Mithridatis copias, omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, <sup>4</sup> urbemque Asiæ clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine, et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit; 21. ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, <sup>5</sup> quæ ducebatur Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; <sup>6</sup> magnas hostium præterea copias multis præliis esse deletas, patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; <sup>7</sup> Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas atque refertas, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociæ permultas, uno aditu adventuque, esse captas; regem, spoliatum <sup>8</sup> regno patrio atque avito, ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque hæc omnia, salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. <sup>9</sup> Satis opinor hoc esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causæ, L. Lucillum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. 22. Requiretur fortasse nunc, <sup>1</sup> quemadmodum, quum hæc ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites, non enim hoc sine causa quæri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto <sup>2</sup> Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; <sup>3</sup> quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, <sup>4</sup> ut eorum collectio dispersa, mærorumque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates, fugiens, <sup>5</sup> maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas, in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita <sup>6</sup> illum a persequendi studio mærorum, hos lætitia tardavit. 23. Hunc in

illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit: cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus <sup>7</sup> neque lacessendas bello neque tentandas putavit; <sup>8</sup> erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae <sup>9</sup> novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, tamesti <sup>10</sup> urbem ex Tigrani regno ceperat, et praелиis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. 24. <sup>11</sup> Hic jam plura non dicam. <sup>12</sup> Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quam processio longior quaereretur: Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat, <sup>13</sup> et eorum, qui se ex ipsius regno collegerant, et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. <sup>14</sup> Jam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno: ut iis nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. 25. Itaque tantum <sup>15</sup> victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam quum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum, clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit. <sup>16</sup> Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris, non ex praelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. 26. <sup>17</sup> Hic in illo ipso malo, gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen, aliqua ex parte, iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diurnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praeterco <sup>18</sup> consulto: sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum

factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat, vetere exercitu pulso.

X. 27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: <sup>1</sup> restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, ac tantis rebus præficiendo, dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, <sup>2</sup> ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis. Nunc vero <sup>3</sup> quum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quæ res est, quæ cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sic existimo, <sup>4</sup> in summo imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit, <sup>5</sup> aut esse debuit? <sup>6</sup> qui e ludo atque pueritiæ disciplinis, bello maximo, atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum, atque in militiæ disciplinam profectus est; <sup>7</sup> qui extrema pueritiâ miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, <sup>8</sup> ineunte adolescentia, maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui sæpius cum <sup>9</sup> hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit; plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod demique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicæ? <sup>10</sup> Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense, mixtum ex incitatis atque bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. 29. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut illo dignum, aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum possit afferre? <sup>1</sup> Neque enim illæ sunt

solæ virtutes imperatoriæ, quæ vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo; <sup>2</sup> quæ tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus, aut audivimus, non fuerunt. <sup>3</sup> Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. 30. Testis est <sup>4</sup> Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate, explicavit. Testis est Africa, quæ magnis, oppressa hostium copiis, <sup>5</sup> eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione, patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpissime plurimos <sup>6</sup> hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et sæpius Italia, quæ, quum servili bello <sup>7</sup> tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expectavit: quod bellum expectatione ejus attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. 31. Testes nunc vero jam omnes oræ, atque omnes <sup>8</sup> exteræ gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, quum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim <sup>9</sup> toto mari locus, per hos annos, aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset? aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, quum aut hieme, aut referato prædonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, <sup>10</sup> tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? 32. Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? <sup>11</sup> cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas, aut a prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego <sup>1</sup> longinqua commemoro? <sup>2</sup> Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare, et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausum fuisse dicam, quum exercitus nostri nunquam <sup>3</sup> a Brundisio, nisi hieme summa, trans-

miserint? <sup>4</sup>Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, quum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, quum <sup>5</sup>duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem pervenerint? 33. <sup>6</sup>Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, quum vestros portus, atque eos portus, quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietæ celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, <sup>7</sup>inspectante prætore, a prædonibus esse direptum? <sup>8</sup>ex Miseno autem, ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublato? Nam quid ego <sup>9</sup>Ostiense incommodum, atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicæ querar, quum, prope inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani præpositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro dii immortales! tantamne <sup>10</sup>unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre rei publicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium prædonum navem esse audiatis? 34. Atque hæc qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo prætereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam, aut <sup>11</sup>obeundi negotii, aut consequendi quæstus studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui <sup>12</sup>nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque hæc tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicæ firmissimis præsiidiis classibusque munivit. 35. Inde quum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Transalpina præsiidiis ac navibus <sup>13</sup>confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris, et in Achaiam omnemque Græciam navibus, <sup>14</sup>Italiciæ duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque præsiidiis adornavit; ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequingagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique prædones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus se <sup>15</sup>imperio ac potestati dederunt. <sup>16</sup>Idem Cretensibus, quum ad eum usque

in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media æstate confecit.

XIII. 36. <sup>1</sup>Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. <sup>2</sup>Quid, ceteræ, quas paulo ante commemorare cœperam, quantæ atque quam multæ sunt? Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quærenda est, sed multæ sunt artes exiniæ, hujus administræ comitesque virtutis. Ac primum, <sup>3</sup>quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate! quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis <sup>4</sup>ex aliorum contentione, quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. 37. Quem enim imperatorem possumus <sup>5</sup>ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? <sup>6</sup>quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut propter cupiditatem, provinciæ magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam, Romæ in quæstu reliquerit? <sup>7</sup>Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui hæc fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, <sup>8</sup>nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. 38. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum sit, nostri exercitus <sup>9</sup>ferant, quis ignorat? <sup>10</sup>Itinera, quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini; tum facilius statuētis, quid apud exterarum nationum fieri existimetis. <sup>11</sup>Utrum plures arbitravimur per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet; neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult. 39. Hic miramur, <sup>12</sup>hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam per-

venerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato noeuisse dicatur? Jam vero, <sup>13</sup>quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac literæ perferuntur; non modo, <sup>14</sup>ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. <sup>15</sup>Hiemis enim, non avaritiæ perfrugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. 40. <sup>1</sup>Age vero, ceteris in rebus qua sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, et tam incredibilem <sup>2</sup>cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia <sup>3</sup>vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt; sed ere res, quæ ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt; <sup>4</sup>non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo <sup>5</sup>signa, et tabulas, ceteraque ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. 41. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem, non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum, intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanus <sup>6</sup>hac quondam continentia, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt, <sup>7</sup>non sine causa majores suos tum, quum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis, maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimonie de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate <sup>8</sup>principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. 42. Jam <sup>9</sup>quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quædam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco sæpe cognovistis. <sup>10</sup>Fidem vero ejus quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an man-



suetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, <sup>11</sup>quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostræ memoriæ bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. 43. Et, quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin <sup>1</sup>ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. <sup>2</sup>Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, quum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, opinione non minus et fama, quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? <sup>3</sup>Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam præclara judicia fecistis? 44. An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, <sup>4</sup>quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, quum universus populus Romanus, referto foro, completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem deponoscit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio <sup>6</sup>omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur; qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello præpositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonæ ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariæ consecuta est, unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. 45. <sup>6</sup>Jam, accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, quum socii pertinuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria continuit, et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantiem Asiæ retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecit? aut quam facile

imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui  
<sup>7</sup> ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. 46. <sup>1</sup> Age vero, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dederunt! quod Cretensium legati, quum in eorum insula <sup>2</sup> noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! <sup>3</sup> Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque ad Hispaniam misit eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus erat semper molestum, ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem, quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, <sup>4</sup> hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis, magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exterarum nationes valituram esse existimetis.

47. Reliquum est, <sup>5</sup> ut de felicitate, quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut æquum est homines de potestate decorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: <sup>6</sup> Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos. <sup>7</sup> Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut <sup>8</sup> præterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisâ diis immortalibus oratio nostra, aut ingrata esse videatur. 48. Itaque <sup>9</sup> non sum prædicaturus, quantas ille res domi militiæ, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit; ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint: hoc brevissime dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, <sup>10</sup> qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas dii immor-

tales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt: <sup>11</sup> quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, quum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49. <sup>12</sup> Quare quum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut negligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et quum ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna; <sup>13</sup> dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

XVII. 50. Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat diligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, quum ad ceteras summas utilitates hæc quoque oportunitas adjungatur, ut <sup>1</sup> in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis qui habent, accipere statim possit, <sup>2</sup> quid expectamus? aut <sup>3</sup> cur non, ducibus diis immortalibus, eidem, cur cetera summa cum salute rei publicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

51. <sup>4</sup> At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicæ, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse, et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, <sup>5</sup> tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem; atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quæ a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. 52. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? <sup>6</sup> Si tui omnia tribuenda sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium; sed <sup>7</sup> ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam <sup>8</sup> ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, <sup>9</sup> pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornatè dixisti, quum is de uno imperatore contra prædones con-

stituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. 53. Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quam ipsius populi Romani salus <sup>9</sup> et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneremus? <sup>10</sup> An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, quæstores, prætoresque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? quum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam, neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. 54. Quæ civitas antea unquam fuit, non dico <sup>1</sup> Atheniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur; non Carthaginensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt; non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quæ civitas unquam <sup>2</sup> tam tenuis, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ non portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque oræ marinæ per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule, <sup>3</sup> aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam, ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. 55. Nos, quorum majores <sup>4</sup> Antiochum regem classe Persenque superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginenses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, <sup>5</sup> ii nullo in loco jam prædonibus pares esse poteramus. Nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos præstare poteramus, tum, quum <sup>6</sup> insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Ægæo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebat; <sup>7</sup> iidem non modo provinciis, atque oris Italiæ maritimis, ac portibus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus: et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani, <sup>8</sup> in hunc ipsum locum ascendere, quum eum nobis majores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent!

XIX. 56. <sup>1</sup>Bono te animo, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus, et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis: sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus <sup>2</sup>dolori suo maluit, quam auctoritati vestræ obtemperare. Itaque <sup>3</sup>una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit; sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare.

57. <sup>4</sup>Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, ane Pompeio, an utrique? id quod est verius; ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. <sup>5</sup>Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios, diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, <sup>6</sup>expers esse debet ejus gloriæ imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus?

58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes <sup>7</sup>honoris causa nomino, quum tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; <sup>8</sup>in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes? qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem <sup>9</sup>per vos ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? <sup>10</sup>De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relatores. Qui si dubitabunt, aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum, <sup>11</sup>quo minus vobis fretus, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam; neque <sup>12</sup>præter intercessionem quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitrator, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio <sup>13</sup>socius adscribitur; propterea quod <sup>14</sup>alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. 59. Reliquum est, <sup>1</sup>ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. <sup>2</sup>Qui quum ex vobis quæreret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suæ virtutis fructum ac

dignitatis, quum omnes, una prope voce, in ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute conficere possit. Sed <sup>3</sup>in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute.—60. <sup>4</sup>At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—Non dicam hoc loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati <sup>5</sup>paruisse; semper ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta; duasque urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uuo C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: 61. in ipso Cu. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, <sup>6</sup>quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid tam novum, quam <sup>1</sup>adolescens, privatum, exercitum difficili rei publicæ tempore conficere? confecit: huic præesse? præfuit: rem optime ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescens, cujus ætas <sup>2</sup>a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam <sup>3</sup>equitem Romanum triumphare? at <sup>4</sup>eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omni etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. 62. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, quum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore, quum esset <sup>5</sup>non nemo in senatu, qui diceret, *Non oportere mitti homi-*

*nem privatam pro consule* ; L. Philippus dixisse dicitur : *Non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere.* Tanta in eo rei publicæ bene gerendæ spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut, ex senatus consulto <sup>6</sup> legibus solutus, consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset ? quid tam incredibile, quam ut <sup>7</sup> iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet ? <sup>8</sup> Quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam hæc, quæ in hoc uno homine videmus. 63. Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, <sup>9</sup> profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. <sup>1</sup> Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobata semper esse ; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium, populique Romani auctoritatem improbari ; præsertim quum jam <sup>2</sup> suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere ; propterea quod, iisdem istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonum præponeretis. 64. Hoc si vos temere fecistis, et rei publicæ parum consulistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur ; <sup>3</sup> sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis ; aliquando isti principes, et sibi, et ceteris, populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur ! Atque in hoc <sup>4</sup> bello Asiatico et regio, non solum militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes animi magnæ et multæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque <sup>5</sup> interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt <sup>6</sup> pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. 65. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterarum nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas <sup>7</sup> per

hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris <sup>8</sup> nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ requiruntur, <sup>9</sup> quibus causa belli, propter diripiendi cupiditatem, inferatur. 66. Libenter hæc <sup>10</sup> coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. <sup>11</sup> Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an, hostium simulatione, contra socios atque amicos? quæ civitas est in Asia, quæ non modo imperatoris, aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum <sup>12</sup> animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare <sup>1</sup> etiam si quem habetis, qui, <sup>2</sup> collatis signis, exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, <sup>3</sup> nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia, manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. 67. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, <sup>4</sup> quæ locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium, non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi <sup>5</sup> continentiam requisivit. <sup>6</sup> Videbat enim prætores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica, præter paucos; neque eos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc <sup>7</sup> qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus, proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur: quasi vero Cn. Pompeium, non <sup>8</sup> quum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitis magnum esse videamus.

68. Quare nolite dubitare, <sup>9</sup> quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cujus tantæ res gestæ terra marique exstiterunt, ut, quum de bello deliberetis auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio, summis vos



tris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia præditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, <sup>10</sup> integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, <sup>11</sup> ut horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. 69. Quæ quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum <sup>1</sup> istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, auctore populo Romano, maneat in sententia, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te <sup>2</sup> satis esse animi perseverantiaque arbitror; deinde quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum in eodem homine præficiendo videmus, quid est, quod aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii; <sup>3</sup> quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hæc potestate prætoris; quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia, possum; id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero: 70. testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perscipiunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, <sup>4</sup> neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut præsidia periculis, aut adjuncta honoribus quæram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentia tecti repellamus; honorem autem <sup>5</sup> neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitæ, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. 71. Quamobrem, quidquid in hæc causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicæ causa suscepisse confirmo; <sup>6</sup> tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quæsisse videar, ut <sup>7</sup> multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. <sup>8</sup> Sed ego me hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem, et rei publicæ dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

## O R A T I O

# PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.



L. 1. ERSI <sup>1</sup>vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro dicere incipientem timere, minimeque deceat, quum T. Annius ipse magis de rei publicæ salute, quam de sua perturbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem afferre non posse, tamen <sup>2</sup>hæc novi judicii nova forma terret oculos, qui, quocunque inciderunt, consuetudinem fori, et pristinum morem judiciorum <sup>3</sup>requirunt. <sup>4</sup>Non enim corona consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; <sup>5</sup>non usitata frequentia stipati sumus; <sup>6</sup>nec illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, non afferunt tamen oratori aliquid, ut in foro et in judicio, quamquam præsiis salutaribus et necessariis septi sumus, <sup>7</sup>tamen ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. <sup>8</sup>Quæ si opposita Miloni putarem, eederem tempori. judices, nec inter tantam vim armorum existimarem esse orationi locum. <sup>9</sup>Sed me recreat et reficit Cu. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium, quod profecto nec justitiæ suæ putaret esse, quem reum sententiis judicum tradidisset, eundum telis militum dedere; nec sapientiæ temeritatæ multitudinis auctoritate publica armare.

3. Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes non periculum nobis, sed præsidium <sup>9</sup>denuntiant, neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam, ut magno animo simus, hortantur, neque auxilium modo

defensioni meæ, verum etiam silentium pollicentur. Reliqua vero multitudo, <sup>10</sup>quæ quidem est civium, tota nostra est, <sup>11</sup>neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuentes, unde aliqua fori pars adspici potest, et hujus exitum judicii exspectantes videtis, non quum virtuti Milonis favet, tum de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis eorum, quos P. Clodii furor <sup>1</sup>rapinis, et incendiis, et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit; qui <sup>2</sup>hesterna etiam concione incitati sunt, ut vobis voce præirent, quid judicaretis. Quorum clamor, <sup>3</sup>si qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debet, ut eum civem retineatis, qui semper genus illud hominum, clamoresque maximos pro vestra salute neglexit. 4. Quamobrem <sup>4</sup>adeste animis, judices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam, si unquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si unquam de bene meritis civibus potestas vobis judicandi fuit, si denique unquam locus amplissimorum ordinum delectis viris datus est, ut sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ vultu et verbis sæpe significassent, re et sententiis declararent, hoc profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis, <sup>5</sup>ut statuatis, utrum nos, qui semper vestræ auctoritati dediti fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando per vos, ac per vestram fidem, virtutem sapientiamque recreemur. 5. <sup>6</sup>Quid enim nobis duobus, judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum dici aut fingi potest, qui, spe amplissimorum præmiorum, ad rem publicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum carere non possumus? Equidem ceteras <sup>7</sup>tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus concionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat; <sup>8</sup>in judicio vero, et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad ejus non modo salutem extinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam. 6. <sup>9</sup>Quarumquam in hac causa, judices, T. Annii tribunatu, rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicæ gestis, ad hujus criminis defensionem <sup>10</sup>non abutemur. Nisi oculis videritis <sup>11</sup>insidias Miloni a

Clodio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa præclara in rem publicam merita condonetis; nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis. Sin<sup>12</sup> illius insidiæ clariore hae luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo, obtestaborque vos, iudices, si cetera amisimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquatur, vitam ab inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere.

III. 7. Sed antequam ad<sup>1</sup> eam orationem venio, quæ est propria vestræ quæstionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in senatu ab inimicis sæpe jactata sunt, et in concione ab improbis, et paulo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni errore sublato, rem plane, quæ veniat in iudicium, videre possitis. <sup>2</sup> Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea, quæ primum iudicium de capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri, qui, nondum libera civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, quum sua manu sororem esse interfectam fateretur. 8. An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, quum de homine occiso quæretur, <sup>3</sup> aut negari solere omnino esse factum, aut recte et jure factum esse defendi? <sup>4</sup> Nisi vero existimatis, dementem P. Africanum fuisse, qui, quum a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, seditiose in concione interrogaretur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, responderit, jure cæsum videri. <sup>5</sup> Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius, aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opimius, aut C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, iudices, non sine causa, etiam <sup>6</sup> fictis fabulis, doctissimi homines memoriæ prodiderunt, eum, qui patris ulciscendi causa matrem necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis, non solum divina, sed etiam sapientissimæ deæ sententia liberatum. 9. Quod si <sup>8</sup> duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderet, interfici impune voluerunt, quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, quum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad hominem occidendum ab ipsis porrigi legibus?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi, <sup>1</sup> quæ multa sunt, certe illud est non modo justum, verum etiam necessarium, quum vi vis illata defenditur. <sup>2</sup> Pudicitiam quum eriperet militi tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, interfectus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat. <sup>3</sup> Facere enim probus adolescens periculose, quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc ille summus vir, scelere solutum, periculo liberavit. 10. Insidiatori vero, et latroni quæ potest <sup>4</sup> inferri injusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, <sup>5</sup> quid gladii volunt? quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. <sup>6</sup> Est igitur hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus; ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma, nec <sup>7</sup> se expectari jubent, quum ei, qui expectare velit, ante injusta pœna luenda sit, quam justa rependa. 11. Etsi persapienter, et quodammodo tacite, dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quæ non hominem occidi, <sup>8</sup> sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat; ut, <sup>9</sup> quum causa, non telum quæreretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causa habuisse telum judicaretur. Quapropter <sup>10</sup> hoc maneat in causa, judices; non enim dubito, quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis, quod oblivisci non potestis, insidiatorem interfici jure posse.

V. 12. <sup>1</sup> Sequitur illud, quod a Milonis inimicis sæpissime dicitur, cædem, in qua P. Clodius occisus est, senatum judicasse, contra rem publicam esse factam. Illam vero senatus <sup>2</sup> non sententiis suis solum, sed etiam studiis comprobavit. Quoties enim est illa causa a nobis <sup>3</sup> acta in senatu? quibus assensionibus universi ordines? quam nec tacitis, nec occultis? Quando enim frequentissimo senatu quatuor, aut summum quinque sunt inventi, qui Milonis causam non probarent? <sup>4</sup> Declarant hujus ambusti tribuni plebis illæ intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiose eriminabatur, quum diceret, senatum non quod

sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decernere. <sup>5</sup> Quæ quidem si potentia est appellanda potius, quam aut propter magna in rem publicam merita mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas, aut propter hos officiosos labores meos nonnulla apud bonos gratia, appelletur ita sane, dummodo ea nos utamur pro salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum. 13. <sup>6</sup> Hanc vero quæstionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen senatus constituendam putavit. Erant enim leges, erant quæstiones, vel de cæde vel de vi; nec tantum moerorem ac luctum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quæstio constitueretur. <sup>7</sup> Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro iudicium decernendi senatui potestas esset crepta; de ejus interitu, quis potest credere, senatum iudicium novum constituendum putasse? <sup>8</sup> Cur igitur incendium curiæ, oppugnationem ædium M. Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam contra rem publicam senatus factam esse decrevit? <sup>9</sup> Quia nulla vis unquam est in libera civitate suscepta inter cives, non contra rem publicam. 14. Non enim est illa defensio contra vim unquam optanda, sed nonnunquam est necessaria. <sup>10</sup> Nisi vero aut ille dies, quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille, quo Caius, aut arma Saturnini non, etiamsi e re publica oppressa sunt, rem publicam tamen vulnerarunt.

VI. <sup>1</sup> Itaque ego ipse decrevi, quum cædem in Appia factam esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra rem publicam fecisse; sed, quum inessent in re vis et insidiæ, crimen iudicio reservavi, rem notavi. Quod si per <sup>2</sup> furiosum illum tribunum senatui, quod sentiebat, perficere licuisset, novam quæstionem nullam haberemus. <sup>3</sup> Decernebat enim, ut veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordinem, quæreretur. <sup>4</sup> Divisa sententia est, postulante nescio quo; nihil enim necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre. Sic <sup>5</sup> reliqua auctoritas senatus empta intercessione sublata est. 15. <sup>6</sup> At enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua, et de re, et de causa iudicavit; <sup>7</sup> tulit enim de cæde, quæ in Appia via facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus esset. Quid ergo tulit? Nempe <sup>8</sup> ut quæreretur. Quid porro quærendum est? Factumne sit? <sup>9</sup> At constat. A quo? At paret. Vidit igitur, etiam in confessione facti, juris tamen defensionem suscipi posse. Quod nisi

vidisset, posse absolvi eum, qui fateretur, quum videret <sup>10</sup> nos fateri, neque quæri unquam jussisset, nec vobis <sup>11</sup> tam hanc salutarem in judicando literam, quam illam tristem, dedisset. Mihi vero Cn. Pompeius non modo nihil gravius contra Milonem judicasse, sed etiam statuisse videtur, <sup>12</sup> quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam qui non pœnam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam interitus quærendam, non interitum putavit. 16. Jam illud ipse dicet profecto, <sup>13</sup> quod sua sponte fecit, Publione Clodio tribuendum putarit, an tempori.

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator, atque, illis quidem temporibus, pæne patronus, avunculus hujus judicis nostri, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, <sup>1</sup> tribunus plebis M. Drusus occisus est. <sup>2</sup> Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quæstio decreta a senatu est. <sup>3</sup> Quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisse, a nostris patribus accepimus, quum P. Africano, domi suæ quiescenti, illa nocturna vis esset illata? quis tum non genuit? quis non arsit dolore, quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessariam quidem exspectatam esse mortem? Num igitur ulla quæstio de Africani morte lata est? Certe nulla. 17. Quid ita? <sup>4</sup> Quia non alio facinore clari homines, alio obscuro necantur. <sup>5</sup> Intersit inter vitæ dignitatem summorum atque infimorum; mors quidem illata per scelus iisdem et pœnis teneatur et legibus. <sup>6</sup> Nisi forte magis erit parricida, si qui consularem patrem, quam si quis humilem necaverit, aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quod is <sup>7</sup> in monumentis majorum suorum sit interfectus. Hoc enim ab istis sæpe dicitur; proinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam muni-verit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posterius latrocinarentur. 18. Itaque in eadem ista Appia via, quum ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius <sup>8</sup> M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum; homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat; nunc ejusdem Appiæ nomen quantas tragedias excitat! <sup>9</sup> Quæ cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebro usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro? Comprehensus est <sup>10</sup> in templo Castoris

servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum collocarat; <sup>11</sup> extorta est confitenti sica de manibus; <sup>12</sup> caruit foro postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico; janua se, ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. 19. Num quæ rogatio lata, num quæ nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir, si tempus ullum dignum fuit, certe hæc in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro collocatus, atque in vestibulo ipso senatus: ei viro autem mors parabatur, <sup>13</sup> cujus in vita nitebatur salus civitatis; eo porro rei publicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solum civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent. Nisi vero, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda: proinde quasi exitus rerum, non hominum consilia <sup>14</sup> legibus vindicentur. Minus dolendum fuit, re non perfecta, sed puniendum certe nihilo minus. 20. Quoties ego ipse, judices, ex P. Clodii telis et ex cruentis ejus manibus effugi? ex quibus si me non vel mea, vel rei publicæ fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu meo <sup>15</sup> quæstionem tulisset?

VIII. <sup>1</sup> Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, qui Africanum, Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio conferre audeamus. Tolabilia fuerunt <sup>2</sup> illa; P. Clodii mortem nemo æquo animo ferre potest. Luget senatus, mœret equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent municipia, afflictantur coloniæ, agri denique ipsi tam beneficum, tam salutarem, tam mansuetum civem <sup>3</sup> desiderant. 21. Non fuit ea causa, judices, profecto, non fuit, cur <sup>4</sup> sibi censeret Pompeius quæstionem ferendam; sed homo sapiens, atque alta et divina quadam mente præditus, multa vidit; fuisse illum sibi inimicum, familiarem Milonem; in communi omnium lætitia si etiam ipse gauderet, <sup>5</sup> timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides reconciliatæ gratiæ; multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maxime, quamvis <sup>6</sup> atrociter ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortiter judicaturos. Itaque delegit e florentissimis ordinibus <sup>7</sup> ipsa lumina. Neque vero, quod nonnulli dicitant, secrevit in iudicibus legendis amicos meos. Neque enim hoc cogitavit vir justissimus, neque in bonis viris legendis id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupisset. <sup>8</sup> Non enim mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quæ late patere non possunt,



propterea quod consuetudines victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed, <sup>9</sup>si quid possumus, ex eo possumus, quod res publica nos conjunxit cum bonis; ex quibus ille quum optimos viros legeret, idque maxime ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei. 22. <sup>10</sup>Quod vero te, L. Domiti, huic quæstioni præesse maxime voluit, nihil quæsiviti aliud, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem. <sup>11</sup>Tulit, ut consularem necesse esset; credo, quod principum munus esse ducebat, resistere et levitati multitudinis, et perditorum temeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit potissimum. Dederas enim, quam contemneres populares insanias, jam ab adolescentia documenta maxima.

IX. 23. Quamobrem, judices, <sup>1</sup>ut aliquando ad causam erimenque veniamus, si neque omnis confessio facti est inusitata, neque de causa nostra quidquam aliter, ac nos vellemus, a senatu judicatum est, et lator ipse legis, quum esset controversia nulla facti, <sup>2</sup>juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit, et electi judices, isque præpositus quæstioni, qui hæc juste sapienterque disceptet, reliquum est, <sup>3</sup>judices, ut nihil jam quærere aliud debeatis, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit. Quod quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, <sup>3</sup>rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæso, diligenter attendite. 24. P. Clodius quum statuisset omni scelere in prætura vexare rem publicam, videretque <sup>4</sup>ita tracta esse comitia anno superiore, ut non multos menses præturam gerere posset, qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut ceteri, sed et <sup>5</sup>L. Paullum collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rem publicam quæreret, subito <sup>6</sup>reliquit annum suum, seseque in proximum annum transtulit, non, ut fit, religione aliqua, sed ut haberet, quod ipse dicebat, ad præturam gerendam, hoc est, ad evertendam rem publicam, plenum annum atque integrum. 25. Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem præturam suam futuram, consule Milone; cum porro <sup>7</sup>summo consensu populi Romani consulem fieri videbat. <sup>8</sup>Contulit se ad ejus competitores, sed ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam invitis illis, gubernaret; tota ut comitia suis, ut dicatâbat, humeris sustineret. Convocabat tribus; se interponebat; <sup>9</sup>Collinam novam delectu perdi-

tissimorum civium conscribemat. Quanto <sup>10</sup> ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convalescebat. Ubi vidit <sup>11</sup> homo ad omne facinus paratissimus, fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consulem, idque intellexit non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis populi Romani sæpe esse declaratum, palam agere cœpit, et aperte dicere, occidendum Milonem. 26. <sup>12</sup> Servos agrestes et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat, Etruriamque vexarat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erant minime obscura. Etenim dictitabat palam, consulatum eripi Miloni non posse, vitam posse. <sup>13</sup> Significavit hoc sæpe in senatu; dixit in concione; quin etiam M. Favonio, fortissimo viro, quærenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo, respondit, triduo illum, aut summum quadriduo esse periturum; quam vocem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius detulit.

X. 27. Interim, quum sciret Clodius (neque enim erat difficile scire), <sup>1</sup> iter sollemne, legitimum, necessarium, ante diem XIII. Kalendas Februarias, Miloni esse Lanuvium ad flaminem prodendum, quod erat dictator Lanuvii Milo, Roma subito ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum (quod re intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque <sup>2</sup> ita profectus est, ut concionem turbulentam, in qua ejus furor desideratus est, quæ illo ipso die habita est, relinqueret, quam, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, nunquam reliquisset. 28. Milo autem quum in senatu fuisset eo die, quoad senatus est dimissus, domum venit; <sup>3</sup> calceos et vestimenta mutavit; paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, commoratus est, deinde profectus id temporis, quum jam Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset. Obviam fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nulla <sup>4</sup> rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat, sine uxore, quod nunquam fere, <sup>5</sup> quum hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cædem faciendam apparasset, cum uxore veleretur in rheda, pænulatus, magno et impedito, et muliebri ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu. 29. Fit obviam Clodio ante fundum ejus, <sup>6</sup> hora fere undecima, aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt <sup>7</sup> de loco superiore impetum; adversi rhedarium occidunt; quum autem

hic de rheda, rejecta pænula, desiluisset, seque acri animo defenderet, illi, qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis eductis, <sup>8</sup> partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur, partim, quod hunc jam interfectum putarent, cedere incipiunt ejus servos, qui post erant, ex quibus, qui animo fideli in dominum et presenti fuerunt, partim occisi sunt, partim, quum ad rhedam pugnari viderent, domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonem occisum ex ipso Clodio audirent, <sup>9</sup> et se vera putarent, fecerunt id servi Milonis (dicam enim aperte deus derivandi criminis causa, sed ut factum est), nec imperante, nec sciente, nec presenti domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.

XI. 30. Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, judices; insidiator superatus est; <sup>1</sup> victa vis, vel potius oppressa virtute audacia est. <sup>1</sup> Nihil dico, quid res publica consecuta sit, nihil, quid vos, nihil, quid omnes boni. <sup>2</sup> Nihil sane id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se qualem servare potuerit, quin una rem publicam vosque servaret. Si id jure fieri non potuit, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin hoc et <sup>3</sup> ratio doctis, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris etiam belluis natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim, quacunq[ue] ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua propulsarent, non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis, aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum. 31. Quod si ita putasset, certe <sup>4</sup> optabilius Miloni fuit dare jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo, neque tum primum petatum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia se non jugulandum illi tradidisset. <sup>5</sup> Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit, illud jam in judicium venit, non, occisusne sit, quod fatemur; sed jure, an injuria; quod multis in causis sæpe quaesitum est. Insidias factas esse constat, et id est, quod senatus contra rem publicam factum judicavit; ab utro factæ sint, incertum est. <sup>6</sup> De hoc igitur latum est ut quaereretur. Ita et senatus rem, non hominem, <sup>7</sup> notavit, et Pompeius de jure, non de facto, questionem tulit.

XII. Numquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil; <sup>1</sup> si hic illi, ut ne sit impune; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamus.

32. <sup>2</sup> Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni fecisse Clodium? Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam nefaria bellua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Itaque <sup>3</sup> illud Cassianum, CUI BOXO FUERIT, in his personis valeat; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi sæpe parvo. <sup>4</sup> Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodius hoc assequabatur, non modo ut prætor esset <sup>5</sup> non eo consule, quo sceleris facere nihil posset, sed etiam, ut iis consulibus prætor esset, quibus si non adjuvantibus, at conviventibus certe, speraret, se posse eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus; <sup>6</sup> cujus illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec cuperent reprimere, si possent, quum tantum beneficium ei se debere arbitrarentur, et, si vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimi corroboratam jam vetustate audaciam. 33. An vero, iudices, vos soli ignoratis, vos <sup>7</sup> hospites in hac urbe versamini? vestræ peregrinantur aures, neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone versantur, quas ille leges (si leges nominandæ sunt, ac non faces urbis, pestes rei publicæ) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus atque iniustus? Exhibe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, exhibe librarium illud legumstrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo, et ex mediis armis, turbaque nocturna, <sup>8</sup> tamquam Palladium extulisse, <sup>9</sup> ut præclarum videlicet munus, atque instrumentum tribunatus ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum gereret, deferre posses. An huius ille legis, quam Sex. Clodius a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset, vivo Milone, ne dicam consule? <sup>10</sup> De nostrum omnium—non audeo totum dicere. Videte, quid ea vitii lex habitura fuerit, cujus periculosa etiam reprehensio est. <sup>11</sup> Et adspexit me illis quidem oculis, quibus tum solebat, quum omnibus omnia minabatur. Movet me quippe <sup>12</sup> lumen curiæ.

XIII. <sup>1</sup> Quid? tu me tibi iratum, Sexte, putas, cujus tu inimicissimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es, quam erat humanitatis meæ postulare? Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver ejecisti <sup>2</sup> domo, tu in publicum abjecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semustilatam, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti. Quare etsi nefarie fecisti,

tamen, quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam, laudare non possum, irasci certe non debeo. 34. <sup>3</sup>[*Demonstravi, judices, quantum Clodii inter*] fuerit occidi Milonem. Convertite animos nunc vicissim ad Milonem. Quid Milonis intererat interfici Clodium? Quid erat, cur Milo, <sup>4</sup>non dicam admitteret, sed optaret?—<sup>5</sup>Obstabat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodius.—<sup>6</sup>At eo repugnante fiebat; immo vero eo fiebat magis, nec me suffragatore meliore utebatur quam Clodio. <sup>7</sup>Valebat apud vos, judices, Milonis erga me reinque publicam meritorum memoria; valebant preces et lacrimæ nostræ, quibus ego tum vos mirifice moveri sentiebam; sed plus multo valebat periculorum impendentium timor. Quis enim erat civium, qui sibi solutam P. Clodii præturam sine maximo rerum novarum metu proponeret? Solutam autem fore videbatis, nisi esset is consul, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. Eum Milonem unum esse quum sentiret universus populus Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo se metu, periculo rem publicam liberare? At nunc, Clodio remoto, <sup>8</sup>usitatis jam rebus nitendum est Miloni, ut tueatur dignitatem suam; singularis illa et huic uni concessa gloria, quæ quotidie augebatur <sup>9</sup>frangendis furoribus Clodianis, jam Clodii morte cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem metueretis; hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem consulatus, fontem perennem gloriæ suæ perdidit. Itaque Milonis consulatus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non poterat, mortuo denique <sup>10</sup>tentari ceptus est. Non modo igitur nihil prodest, sed obest etiam Clodii mors Miloni. 35. <sup>11</sup>At valuit odium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit ultor injuriæ, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in Clodio, quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc? quid vultis amplius? <sup>12</sup>Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, segetem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, præter hoc civile odium, quo omnes improbos odimus? <sup>13</sup>Ille, erat, ut odisset, primum salutis meæ defensorem, deinde vexatorem furoris, dominorem armorum suorum, postremo etiam accusatorem suum. <sup>14</sup>Reus enim Milonis, lege Plotia, fuit Clodius, quoad vixit. Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum tulisse creditis? <sup>15</sup>quantum odium illius, et, in homine injusto, quam etiam justum fuisse?

XIV. 36. <sup>1</sup>Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius, consuetudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant. Nihil per vim unquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid? ego, judices, quum, mœrentibus vobis, <sup>2</sup>urbe cessi, judiciumne timui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur justa causa <sup>3</sup>restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? <sup>4</sup>Diem mihi, credo, dixerat, multam irrogarat, actionem perduellionis intenderat, et mihi videlicet in causa aut mala aut mea, non et præclarissima et vestra, judicium timendum fuit. Servorum, et egen-tium civium, et facinorosorum armis meos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui. 37. Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, lumen et ornamentum rei publicæ, pæne interfici servorum manu, <sup>5</sup>quum mihi adesset; qua in turba C. Vibienus, senator, vir optimus, cum hoc quum esset una, ita est mulcatus, ut vitam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam a Catilina acceperat, conquievit? Hæc intentata nobis est; huic ego vos objici pro me non sum passus; <sup>6</sup>hæc insidiata Pompeio est; hæc istam Appiam, monumentum sui nominis, nec Papirii cruentavit; hæc, hæc eadem, longo intervallo, conversa rursus est in me; nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam pæne confecit. 38. <sup>7</sup>Quid simile Milonis? cujus vis omnis hæc semper fuit, ne P. Clodius, quum in judicium detrahi non posset, <sup>8</sup>vi oppressam civitatem teneret. <sup>9</sup>Quem si interficere voluisset, quantæ, quoties occasiones, quam præclaræ fuerunt? Potuitne, quum domum ac deos penates suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci? potuitne, civi egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sestio, collega suo, vulnerato? potuitne, Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, quum de reditu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima in foro cæde facta? potuitne, L. Cæcili, justissimi fortissimique prætoris, oppugnata domo? potuitne illo die, quum est lata lex de me? quum totius Italiæ concursus, quem mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriam libens <sup>10</sup>agnovisset, ut, etiamsi id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicaret?

XV. 39. <sup>1</sup>At quod erat tempus! Clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illius, propug-

nator senatus, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus publici consensus, restitutor salutis meæ; septem prætores, octo tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; <sup>2</sup>Cn. Pompeius auctor et dux mei reditus, illius hostis, cujus sententiam senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam et ornatissimam secutus est, qui populum Romanum est cohortatus, qui, <sup>3</sup>quum decretum de me Capuæ fecit, ipse cunctæ Italiæ cupienti et ejus fidem imploranti signum dedit, ut ad me restituendum Romam concurrerent; omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebant desiderio mei; quem qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de præmiis cogitaretur. 40. Tamen se Milo continuit, et P. Clodium in judicium bis, ad vim nunquam vocavit. Quid? <sup>4</sup>privato Milone, et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, quum in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est, quæ tum non modo occasio, sed etiam causa illius opprimendi fuit? Nuper vero quum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus rei publicæ partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illam belluam, judicii laqueos declinantem, <sup>5</sup>jam irretitam teneret; qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortales, fuit? Quum se ille <sup>6</sup>fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, <sup>7</sup>magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua invidia, Antonii vero maxima gloria. 41. Quid? comitiis <sup>8</sup>in campo quoties potestas fuit, quum ille in septa irrupisset, gladios destringendos, lapides jaciendos curavisset, dein subito, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni <sup>9</sup>vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute sua liberet?

XVI. <sup>1</sup>Quem igitur cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune non est ausus, hunc injuria, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis, non dubitavit occidere? 42. <sup>2</sup>præsertim, judices, quum honoris amplissimi contentio, et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim, quam timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quam sollicita sit cupiditas consulatus), omnia non modo, quæ reprehendi palam, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari possunt, timemus, rumorem, fabulam fictam, levem perhor-

rescimus, ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil est enim tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quam voluntas erga nos, sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati irascuntur candidatorum,<sup>3</sup> sed etiam in recte factis sæpe fastidiunt.

43. Hunc igitur <sup>4</sup>diem campi speratum atque exoptatum sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus, scelus et facinus præ se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? <sup>5</sup>Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se interfecto Milone regnaturum putaret! <sup>6</sup>Quid? quod caput est audaciæ, iudices, quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem? In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone, qui etiam nunc reus est facti, aut præclari, aut certe necessarii, an in Clodio, qui ita judicia pœnamque contempserat, ut eum nihil delectaret, quod aut per naturam fas esset, aut per leges liceret? 44. <sup>7</sup>Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura disputo? Te Q. Petili, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit iudices. Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis vivo Clodio, periturum Milonem triduo. Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Quum ille non dubitarit aperire, quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. 45. <sup>1</sup>Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non fefellit? <sup>2</sup>Dixi equidem modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata sacrificia nosse negotii nihil erat. Vidit, necesse esse Miloni, proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo est profectus, die. <sup>3</sup>Itaque antevertit. At quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima concio, ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis concitata; quem diem ille, quam concionem, quos clamores, <sup>4</sup>nisi ad cogitatum facinus approperearet, nunquam reliquisset. <sup>5</sup>Ergo illi ne causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni manendi nulla facultas, exeundi non causa solum, sed etiam necessitas fuit. Quid? si, ut ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in via, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit? 46. Primum quæro, <sup>6</sup>qui scire potuerit? quod vos idem in Clodio quærere non potestis. <sup>7</sup>Ut enim neminem alium, nisi T. Patinam, familiarissimum suum, rogasset, scire potuit, illo ipso die Lanuvii a dictatore



Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse. Sed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facillime scire posset; omnes scilicet Lanuvini. Milo de Clodii reditu unde quæsit? <sup>8</sup> Quæsierit sane. Videte, quid vobis largiar. <sup>9</sup> Servum etiam, ut Q. Arrius, meus amicus, dixit, corruerit. <sup>10</sup> Legite testimonia testium vestrorum. Dixit C. Cassinius Schola, Interamnanus, familiarissimus et idem comes Clodii, cujus jam pridem testimonio Clodius eadem hora Interamniæ fuerat et Romæ, P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum fuisse, sed subito esse ei nuntiatum, Cyrum architectum esse mortuum; itaque repente Romam constituisse proficisci. Dixit hoc, comes item P. Clodii, C. Clodius.

XVIII. 47. Videte, judices, <sup>1</sup> quantæ res his testimoniis sint confectæ. Primum certe <sup>2</sup> liberatur Milo, non eo consilio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in via Clodio; quippe; si ille obvius ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non enim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis, judices, fuisse, qui <sup>3</sup> in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris alicujus. Me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditii describebant. <sup>4</sup> Jacent suis testibus hi, qui Clodium negant eo die Roman, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuisse rediturum. Respiravi; liberatus sum; non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. 48. <sup>5</sup> Nunc persequar cetera. <sup>6</sup> Nam occurrit illud: Igitur ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus. Si quidem exiturus ad cædem e villa non fuisset. Video enim, illum, qui dicatur de Cyri morte nuntiasset, non id nuntiasset, sed Milonem appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodius, Roma <sup>7</sup> proficiscens, reliquerat morientem? Una fui; testamentum simul obsignavi cum Clodio; testar entum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora tertia animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. 49. <sup>1</sup> Age, sit ita factum; quæ causa, cur Romam properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? Quid afferebat causam festinationis? Quod heres erat? Primum erat nihil, <sup>2</sup> cur prope-

rato opus esset; deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod ea nocte consequi posset, <sup>3</sup>amitteret autem, si postridie Romam mane venisset? Atque ut <sup>4</sup>illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius, quam expetendus fuit, sic Miloni, quum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque exspectandum fuit. 50. Noctu, <sup>5</sup>insidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset; <sup>6</sup>nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum, etiam confitentem volunt. <sup>7</sup>Sustinuisset hoc crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor locus; tum neque muta solitudo indicasset, neque cæca nox ostendisset Milonem; <sup>8</sup>deinde ibi multi ab illo violati, spoliati, bonis expulsi, multi hæc etiam timentes in suspicionem caderent; tota denique rea citaretur Etruria. 51. Atque illo die certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius <sup>9</sup>ad se in Albanum. <sup>10</sup>Quod ut sciret Milo, illum Ariciæ fuisse, suspicari tamen debuit, eum, etiamsi Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, quæ viam tangeret, deversurum. <sup>11</sup>Cur neque ante occurrit, ne ille in villa resideret, nec eo in loco subsedit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

<sup>12</sup>Video constare adhuc, iudices, omnia; Miloni etiam utile fuisse Clodium vivere, illi ad ea quæ concupierat, optatissimum interitum Milonis; odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, nullum hujus in illum; consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda; 52. mortem ab illo denuntiata Miloni, et prædictam palam, nihil unquam auditum ex Milone; profectionis hujus diem illi notum, reditus illius huic ignotum fuisse; hujus iter necessarium, illius etiam potius alienum; hunc præ se tulisse, illo se die Roma exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum; hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium, illum causam mutandi consilii finxisse; huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem exspectandam, illi, etiamsi hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

XX. 53. <sup>1</sup>Videamus nunc id, quod caput est, locus ad insidias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptior. Id vero, iudices, etiam dubitandum, et diutius cogitandum est? <sup>2</sup>Ante fundum Clodii, quo in fundo, propter insanas illas substructiones,

facile hominum mille versabantur valentium; edito adversarii atque excelso loco, superiorem se fore putarat Milo, et ob eam rem, eum locum ad pugnam potissimum elegerat? an in eo loco est potius exspectatus ab eo, qui ipsius loci spe facere impetum cogitavit? Res loquitur ipsa, iudices, <sup>3</sup> quæ semper valet plurimum. 54. Si hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen apparet, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, quum alter veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una sederet uxor. <sup>4</sup> Quid horum non impeditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum, an comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, quum pænula irretitus, rheda impeditus, uxore pæne constrictus esset? <sup>5</sup> Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, subito; cur? vesperi; quid necesse est? <sup>6</sup> tarde; qui convenit, præsertim id temporis? <sup>7</sup> Devertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium ut videret? sciebat, in Alsiensi esse; villam ut perspiceret? millies in ea fuerat; quid ergo erat? mora et tergiversatio; dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

XXI. 55. Age, nunc iter <sup>1</sup> expediti latronis cum Milonis impedimentis compare. Semper ille antea cum uxore; tum sine ea; nunquam nisi in rheda; tum in equo; <sup>2</sup> comites Græculi, quocumque ibat, etiam quum in castra Etrusca properabat; tum in comitatu nugarum nihil. Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu <sup>3</sup> pueros symphonicos uxoris ducebat et ancillarum greges. Ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas duceret, tum neminem, <sup>4</sup> nisi ut virum a viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est? Quia non semper viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a viatore occiditur; quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos Clodius, tamen <sup>5</sup> mulier inciderat in viros. 56. Nec vero sic erat unquam non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satis fere esset paratus. Semper ille, et <sup>6</sup> quantum interesset P. Clodii, se perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille auderet, cogitabat. Quamobrem vitam suam, <sup>7</sup> quam maximis præmiis propositam et pæne addictam sciebat, nunquam in periculum sine præsidio e sine custodia projiciebat. Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum <sup>8</sup> Martemque communem, qui sæpe spoliantem jam et exultantem evertit, et perculit ab abjecto; adde inscitiam <sup>9</sup> pransi,

poti, oscitantis ducis, qui quum a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de ejus extremis comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos ira vitamque domini desperantes quum incidisset, hæsit in iis pœnis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetiverunt. 57. Cur igitur eos manumisit? <sup>10</sup>Metuebat scilicet, ne indicarent, ne dolorem perferre non possent, ne tormentis cogerentur occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appia via P. Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? Quid quæris? Occideritne? Occidit. Jure, an injuria? <sup>11</sup>Nihil ad tortorem. <sup>12</sup>Facti enim in equuleo quæstio est, juris in judicio.

XXII. Quod igitur in causa quærendum est, id agamus hic; quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. <sup>1</sup>Manu vero cur miserit, si id potius quæris, quam cur parum amplis affecerit præmiis, <sup>2</sup>nescis inimici factum reprehendere. 58. Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constanter et fortiter, M. Cato, et dixit in turbulenta concione, quæ tamen hujus auctoritate placata est, non libertate solum, sed etiam omnibus præmiis dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim præmium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, <sup>3</sup>propter quos vivit? Etsi id quidem non tanti est, quam quod propter eosdem non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit. <sup>4</sup>Quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuerunt conservatores domini, ultores secleris, defensores necis. Hic vero nihil habet in his malis, quod minus moleste ferat, <sup>5</sup>quam, etiamsi quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meritum præmium persolutum. 59. <sup>6</sup>Sed quæstiones urgent Milonem, quæ sunt habitæ nunc in atrio Libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? Rogas? De P. Clodii. Quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis produxit? Appius. Unde? <sup>7</sup>Ab Appio. Dii boni! quid potest agi severius? De servis nulla lege quæstio est in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium. <sup>8</sup>Proxime deos accessit Clodius, propius quam tum, quum ad ipsos penetrarat, cujus de morte, tamquam de cærimoniis violatis, quæritur. Sed tamen majores nostri in dominum de servo quæri <sup>9</sup>noluerunt, non quia non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum, et dominis morte ipsa tristius. In reum

de servo accusatoris quum quæritur, verum inveniri potest? 60. <sup>10</sup>Age vero, quæ erat, aut qualis quæstio? <sup>11</sup>Heus tu, Rufio, verbi causa, cave sis mentiare. Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit, Certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas. Quid hac quæstione certius? Subito abrepti in quæstionem tamen separantur a ceteris, et in areas conjiciuntur, ne quis eum iis colloqui possit. Hi centum dies penes accusatorem quum fuissent, ab eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. <sup>12</sup>Quid hac quæstione dici potest integrius? quid incorruptius?

XXIII. 61. <sup>1</sup>Quod si nondum satis cernitis, quum res ipsa tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, pura mente atque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu perterritum, nulla conscientia exanimatum, Romam revertisse, recordamini, per deos immortales! <sup>2</sup>quæ fuerit celeritas reditus ejus, qui ingressus in forum, ardente curia, quæ magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit, neque senatui modo, sed etiam <sup>3</sup>publicis præsiidiis et armis, neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rem publicam, omnem Italiæ pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat; cui nunquam se hic profecto tradidisset, nisi causæ suæ confideret, præsertim omnia audienti, magna metuenti, multa suspicanti, nonnulla credenti. Magna vis est conscientiæ, judices, et magna <sup>4</sup>in utramque partem, ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarint. 62. Neque vero, <sup>5</sup>sine ratione certa, causa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines <sup>6</sup>facti rationem, præsentiam animi, defensionis constantiam. An vero oblitus estis, judices, <sup>7</sup>recenti illo nuntio necis Clodianæ, non modo inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Roman esse rediturum. 63. Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortem P. Clodii putasse, ut æquo animo patria careret, quum sanguine inimici explesset odium suum; sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset; <sup>8</sup>non dubitaturum fortem virum, quin, quum suo periculo salutem

rei publicæ attulisset, cederet æquo animo legibus; secum auferret gloriam sempiternam; nobis hæc fruenda relinqueret, quæ ipse servasset. <sup>9</sup> Multi etiam Catilinam, atque illa portenta loquebantur: "Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum patriæ faciet." <sup>10</sup> Miseros interdum cives optime de re publica meritos, in quibus homines non modo res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur! 64. Ergo illa falsa fuerunt; <sup>11</sup> quæ certe vera exstitissent, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.

XXIV. Quid? <sup>1</sup> quæ postea sunt in eum congesta, quæ quemvis etiam mediocrium delictorum conscientia perculissent, ut sustinuit! dii immortales! sustinuit? immo vero ut contempsit, ac pro nihilo putavit! quæ neque maximo animo nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere potuisset. Scutorum, gladiatorum, frenorum, pilorumque etiam <sup>2</sup> multitudo deprehendi posse indicabatur; nullum in urbe vicum, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo non Miloni conducta esset domus; arma in villam Oericulanam devecta Tiberi; domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta; plena omnia malleolorum ad urbis incendia comparatorum. Hæc non delata solum, sed pæne credita, <sup>3</sup> nec ante repudiata sunt, quam quæsitæ. 65. Laudabam equidem incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam, ut sentio, iudices. Nimis multa coguntur audire, neque aliter facere possunt ii, quibus tota commissa est res publica; <sup>4</sup> cui etiam fuerit audiendus popa Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo; servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse, de interficiendo Pompeio conjurasse, dein postea se gladio percussum esse ab uno de illis, ne indicaret Pompeio in hortos nuntiavit. Arcessor in primis. <sup>5</sup> De amicorum sententia rem defert ad senatum. Non poteram in illius mei patriæque custodis tanta suspicione non metu exanimari, sed mirabar tamen, <sup>6</sup> credi popæ; confessionem servorum audiri; vulnus in latere, quod acu punctum videretur, pro ictu gladiatoris probari. 66. Verum, <sup>7</sup> ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quam timebat, non ea solum, quæ timenda erant, sed omnia, ne vos aliquid timeretis. <sup>8</sup> Oppugnata domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et fortissimi viri,

per multas noctis horas nuntiabatur. Nemo audierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat; tamen audiebatur. Non poteram Cn. Pompeium, præstantissima virtute virum, <sup>9</sup>timidum suspicari; diligentiam, tota re publica suscepta, nimiam nullam putabam. Frequentissimo senatu nuper in Capitolio senator inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret. Nudavit se in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita talis et civis et viri fidem non faciebat, <sup>10</sup>ut, eo tacente, res ipsa loqueretur.

XXV. 67. Omnia falsa atque insidiosè ficta comperta sunt; <sup>1</sup>quum tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo. Non jam <sup>2</sup>hoc Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompei (te enim jam appello, et ea voce, ut me exaudire possis), tuas, tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si Milonem times, si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc cogitare, <sup>3</sup>aut molitum aliquando aliquid putas; si Italiæ delectus, <sup>4</sup>ut nonnulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt; si hæc arma, si Capitoliinæ cohortes, si excubiæ, si vigiliæ, si delecta Juventus, quæ tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est; atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, intenta sunt, magna certe <sup>5</sup>in hoc vis, et incredibilis animus, et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, si quidem in hunc unum, et præstantissimus dux electus, et tota res publica armata est. 68. Sed quis non intelligit, omnes tibi rei publicæ partes <sup>6</sup>ægras et labantes, ut eas his armis sanares et confirmares, esse commissas? Quod si locus Miloni datus esset, probasset profectè tibi ipsi, neminem unquam hominem homini cariorem fuisse quam te sibi; nullum se unquam periculum pro tua dignitate fugisse; <sup>7</sup>cum illa ipsa teterrima peste se sæpissime pro tua gloria contendisse; tribunatum suum ad salutem meam, quæ tibi carissima fuisset, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum in periculo capitis, <sup>8</sup>adjutum in petitione præturæ; duos se habere semper amicissimos sperasse, te tuo beneficio, me suo. <sup>9</sup>Quæ si non probaret, si tibi ita penitus inhæsisset ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset, si denique Italia a delectu, urbs ab armis sine Milonis clade nunquam esset conquietura, næ iste haud dubitans <sup>10</sup>cessisset patria, is, qui ita natus est, et ita consuevit; <sup>11</sup>t. Magna. tamen antestaretur, quod nunc etiam facit.

XXVI. 69. Vide, quam sit varia vitæ commutabilisque <sup>1</sup>ratio, quam vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantæ infidelitates in amicitis, quam ad tempus aptæ simulationes, quantæ in periculis fugæ proximorum, quantæ timiditates. <sup>2</sup>Erit, erit illud profecto tempus, et illuscet ille aliquando dies, quum tu, <sup>3</sup>salutaribus, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo communium temporum (quæ quam crebro accidat, experti scire debemus), et amicissimi benevolentiam, et gravissimi hominis fidem, et unius post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres. 70. <sup>4</sup>Quamquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicæ peritissimum, quum senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, NE QUID RES PUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET, quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc delectu dato, iudicium expectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui vi iudicia ipsa tolleret? <sup>5</sup>Satis iudicatum est a Pompeio, satis, falso ista conferri in Milonem, qui legem tulit, qua, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvi a vobis oporteret, ut omnes confitentur, liceret. 71. <sup>6</sup>Quod vero in illo loco atque illis publicorum præsidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet, satis declarat, se non terrorem inferre vobis (quid enim minus illo dignum, quam cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem animadvertere ipse et more majorum et suo jure posset?), sed præsidio esse, ut intelligatis, contra hesternam illam concionem licere vobis, quod sentiatis, libere iudicare.

XXVII. 72. Nec vero me, iudices, Clodianum crimen movet, nec tam sum demens, tamque vestri sensus ignarus atque expertus, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii sentiatis. De qua, <sup>1</sup>si jam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, tamen impune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose liceret: "Occidi, occidi, <sup>2</sup>non Sp. Mælium, qui annonæ levanda jacturisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem videbatur, in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi, non Ti. Gracchum, qui collegæ magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, quorum interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria, sed eum (auderet enim dicere, quum patriam periculo suo liberasset), <sup>3</sup>cujus nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus sanc-



tissimis nobilissimæ feminae comprehenderunt; 73. eum, cuius supplicio, senatus sollemnes religiones expiandas sæpe censuit; eum, <sup>4</sup>quem cum sorore germana nefarium stuprum fecisse, L. Lucullus juratus se, quæstionibus habitis, dixit comperisse; eum, qui civem, quem senatus, quem populus Romanus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitæ civium conservatorem judicarent, servorum armis exterminavit; eum, qui regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum, quibuscum voluit, partitus est; eum, qui, plurimis cædibus in foro factis, singulari virtute et gloria <sup>5</sup>civem domum vi et armis compulit; eum, cui nihil unquam nefas fuit, nec in facinore nec in libidine; eum, qui <sup>6</sup>ædem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensiois, tabulis publicis impressam, exstingeret; 74. eum denique, <sup>7</sup>cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum termini; qui non calumnia litium, non injustis vindictis ac sacramentis, alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis, petebat; qui non solum Etruscos (eos enim penitus contempserat), sed hunc<sup>8</sup> P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessionibus, armis castrisque conatus est; qui cum architectis et decempedis villas multorum, hortosque peragrabat; qui <sup>9</sup>Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum terminabat suarum; qui, quum ab equite Romano splendido et forti, M. Paconio, non impetrasset, ut sibi insulam in lacu Prilio venderet, repente in tribus in eam insulam materiem, calcem, camenta, arma convexit, dominoque trans ripam inspectante non dubitavit ædificium extruere <sup>9</sup>in alieno; 75. <sup>10</sup>qui huic T. Furfanio, cui viro? dii immortales! (quid enim ego de muliercula Scantia, quid de adolescente P. Apinio dicam? quorum utrique mortem est minuitus, nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent); sed ausus est Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantum poposcerat, non dedisset, mortuum se in domum ejus illaturum, <sup>11</sup>qua invidia huic esset tali viro conflagrandum; qui Appium fratrem, hominem mihi conjunctum fidissima gratia, absentem de possessione fundi deiecit; qui parietem sic per vestibulum sororis instituit ducere, sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modo vestibulo privaret, sed <sup>12</sup>omni aditu et limine."

XXVIII. 76. <sup>1</sup>Quamquam hæc quidem jam tolerabilia videbantur, etsi æquabiliter in rem publicam, in privatos, in longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos irruebat; <sup>2</sup>sed nescio quomodo jam usu obduruerat, et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia. <sup>3</sup>Quæ vero aderant jam, et impendebant, quoniam modo ea aut repellere potuissetis aut ferre? Imperium ille si nactus esset, omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se potius immitteret quam in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias; pecunias dico? a liberis, mediis fidius, et a conjugibus vestris nunquam ille effrenatas suas libidines cohibuisset. <sup>4</sup>Fingi hæc putatis, quæ patent, quæ nota sunt omnibus, quæ tenentur? <sup>5</sup>servorum exercitus illum in urbe conscripturnum fuisse, per quos totam rem publicam, resque privatas omnium possideret? 77. Quamobrem, si <sup>7</sup>cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius: "Adeste, quæso, atque audite, cives; P. Clodium interfeci; ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, hoc ferro, et hæc dextera, a cervicibus vestris repuli, <sup>8</sup>per me ut unum jus, æquitas, leges, libertas, pudor, pudicitia in civitate manerent," <sup>9</sup>esset vero timendum, quoniam modo id ferret civitas! Nunc enim quis est, qui non probeat? qui non laudet? <sup>10</sup>qui non unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium plurimum rei publicæ profuisse, maxima lætitia populum Romanum, eunctam Italiam, nationes omnes affleuisse, et dicat, et sentiat? Non queo, vetera illa populi Romani gaudia quanta fuerint, judicare. Multas tamen jam <sup>11</sup>summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias ætas nostra vidit, quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit lætitiâ, nec tantam. 78. Mandate hoc memoriæ, iudices. Spero multa vos, liberosque vestros in re publica bona esse visuros; <sup>12</sup>in iis singulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio nihil eorum vos visuros fuisse. In spem maximam, et, quemadmodum confido, verissimam sumus adducti, hunc ipsum annum, hoc ipso summo viro consule, compressa hominum licentia, cupiditatibus fractis legibus et judiciis constitatis, salutarem civitati fore. Nun quis est igitur tam demens, <sup>13</sup>qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid? <sup>14</sup>ea, quæ tenetis, privata atque ves-

tra, dominante homine furioso, quod jus perpetuæ possessionis habere potuissent?

XXIX. Non timeo, iudices, <sup>1</sup> ne odio mearum inimicitiarum inflammatus, libentius hæc in illum evomere videar, quam verius. Etenim <sup>2</sup> etsi præcipuum esse debebat, tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio pæne æqualiter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii fuerit. 79. <sup>3</sup> Quin sic attendite, iudices. Nempe hæc est quæstio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis (liberæ sunt enim nostræ cogitationes, et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, <sup>4</sup> ut ea cernimus, quæ videmus), fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meæ, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius revixerit. <sup>5</sup> Quid vultu extimuisistis? Quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, quos mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse Cn. Pompeius, qui ea virtute ac fortuna est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo præter illum, <sup>6</sup> si is, inquam, potuisset aut quæstionem de morte P. Clodii ferre, aut ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis potius facturum fuisse? Etiam si propter anicitiam vellet illum ab inferis evocare, propter rem publicam non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis sedetis ultores, <sup>7</sup> cujus vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis, et de ejus necelata quæstio est, qui si eadem lege reviviscere posset, lata lex nunquam esset. Hujus ergo interfector si esset, in confitendo ab iisne pœnam timeret, quos liberavisset? 80. Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris, qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis? quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ? <sup>8</sup> quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos cantus? quæ carmina? <sup>9</sup> Prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur. Vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiimini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libente, fecisse se libertatis omnium causa, <sup>10</sup> quod esset ei non confitendum modo, verum etiam prædicandum.

XXX. 81. Etenim, si id non negat, <sup>1</sup> ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis

essent petenda? nisi vero gratius putat esse vobis, sui se capitis, quam vestri defensorem fuisse; quum præsertim in ea confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur amplissimos; si factum<sup>2</sup> vobis non probaretur (quamquam qui poterat salus sua cuiquam non probari?), sed tamen si minus fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset, magno animo constantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. <sup>3</sup>Nam quid esset ingratius, quam lætari ceteros, lugere eum solum, propter quem ceteri lætarentur? 82. Quamquam hoc animo semper omnes fuimus in patriæ proditoribus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam<sup>4</sup> nostram putaremus. Nam quæ mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, quum tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, <sup>5</sup>si id, quum conabar, sine maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitrarer? Quæ mulier sceleratum ac perniciosum civem occidere non auderet, si periculum non timeret? <sup>6</sup>Proposita invidia, morte, pœna, qui nihilo segnius rem publicam defendit, is vir vere putandus est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere bene meritos de re publica cives, viri fortis, ne supplicii quidem moveri, ut fortiter fecisse pœniteat. 83. Quamobrem uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius, <sup>7</sup>qua Abala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua nosmet ipsi, et, si grata res publica esset, lætaretur, si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortuna <sup>8</sup>conscientia sua niteretur.

Sed <sup>9</sup>hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna populi Romani, et vestra felicitas, et dii immortales sibi deberi putant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, <sup>10</sup>nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit, numenve divinum, quem neque imperii nostri magnitudo, neque sol ille, nec cœli signorumque motus, nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque, id quod maximum est, majorum sapientia, qui sacra, qui caerimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime coluerunt, et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.

XXXI. 84. <sup>1</sup>Est, est profecto illa vis, neque in his corporibus, atque in hac imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præclaro motu. <sup>2</sup>Nisi forte idcirco non putant, quia non apparet, nec cernitur;

proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, qua sapimus, qua provide mus, qua hæc ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre aut plane, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. <sup>3</sup>Ea vis igitur ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit, cui primum mentem injecit, ut vi irritare, ferroque læssere fortissimum virum auderet, vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam.

85. Non est humano consilio, <sup>4</sup>ne mediocri quidem, judices, deorum immortalium cura res illa perfecta. <sup>5</sup>Religiones mehercule ipsæ, quæ illam belluam cadere viderunt, commovisse se videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim jam, <sup>6</sup>Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque testor, vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, <sup>7</sup>sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille, præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat; <sup>8</sup>vestræ tum, aræ, vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat, tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque sæpe omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti; <sup>9</sup>vobis illæ, vobis vestro in conspectu seræ, sed justæ tamen, et debitæ poenæ solutæ sunt.

86. Nisi forte <sup>10</sup>hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonæ Deæ, quod est in fundo T. Sestii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, quum prælium commisisset, primum illud vulnus acciperet, quo teterrimam mortem obiret, ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem poenam reservatus.

XXXII. <sup>1</sup>Nec vero non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus satellitibus injecit amentiam, ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus eruoere et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate, cui cedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur abjectus. Non fuisse credo <sup>2</sup>fas, clarissimorum virorum formas illi teterrimo parricidæ aliquid decoris afferre, neque ullo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quam in quo esset vita damnata.

87. Dura, medius fidius, <sup>3</sup>mihî jam fortuna populi Romani et

crudelis videbatur, quæ tot annos illum in hanc rem publicam insultare pateretur. <sup>4</sup> Polluerat stupro sanctissimas religiones, senatus gravissima decreta perfregerat, pecunia se a iudicibus palam redemerat, vexarat in tribunatu senatum, <sup>5</sup> omnium ordinum consensu pro salute rei publicæ gesta resciderat, me patria expulerat, bona diripuerat, domum incenderat, liberos, conjugem meam vexarat. <sup>6</sup> Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat, magistratum privatorumque cædes effecerat, domum mei fratris incenderat, vastarat Etruriam, multos sedibus ac fortunis eiecerat; instabat, urgebat; capere ejus amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna non poterant; <sup>7</sup> incidebantur jam domi leges, quæ nos servis nostris addicerent; nihil erat cujusquam, quod quidem ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret. 88. Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo, præter Milonem. <sup>8</sup> Illum ipsum, qui poterat obstare, novo reditu in gratiam quasi devinctum arbitrabatur; Cæsaris potentiam suam esse dicebat; bonorum animos in meo casu contempserat; Milo unus urgebat.

XXXIII. <sup>1</sup> Hic dii immortales, ut supra dixi, mentem illi perditō ac furioso dederunt, ut huic faceret insidias. Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit; nunquam illum res publica suo jure esset ulta. <sup>2</sup> Senatus, credo, prætorem eum circumscripsisset. <sup>3</sup> Ne quum solebat quidem id facere, in privato eodem hoc aliquid profecerat. 89. An consules in prætore coercendo fortes fuissent? Primum, Milone occiso, habuisset <sup>4</sup> suos consules; deinde quis in eo prætore consul fortis esset, per quem tribunum <sup>5</sup> virtutem consularem crudelissime vexatam esse meminisset? Oppressisset omnia, possideret, teneret; <sup>6</sup> lege nova, quæ est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos nostros libertos suos fecisset. Postremo, nisi eum dii immortales in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rem publicam nullam haberetis. 90. <sup>7</sup> An ille prætor, ille vero consul, si modo hæc templa atque ipsa mœnia stare eo vivo tandem, et consulatum ejus expectare potuissent, ille denique vivus mali nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus Sex. Clodio duce, curiam incenderit? <sup>8</sup> Quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid luc-

tuosius vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, aram sociorum, portum omnium gentium, sedem ab universo populo concessam uni ordini, inflammari, excindi, funestari? <sup>9</sup> neque id fieri a multitudine imperita, quamquam esset miserum id ipsum, sed ab uno? Qui quum tantum ausus sit ustor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset ausus? In curiam potissimum abiecit, ut eam mortuus incenderet, quam vivus everterat. 91. <sup>10</sup> Et sunt, qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia? <sup>11</sup> et qui ab eo spirante forum putent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri curia? Excitate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, a mortuis. Frangetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sustinetis furias insepulti? <sup>12</sup> Nisi vero sustinuistis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam concurrerunt, cum falcibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto foro volitarunt. Cædi vidistis populum Romanum, concionem gladiis disturbari, <sup>13</sup> quum audiretur silentio M. Cœlius, tribunus plebis, vir et in re publica fortissimus, et in suscepta causa firmissimus, et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati senatus deditus, <sup>14</sup> et in hac Milonis sive invidia, sive fortuna singulari, divina et incredibili fide.

XXXIV. 92. <sup>1</sup> Sed jam satis multa de causa; extra causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, iudices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, <sup>2</sup> ego, etiam repugnante hoc, et imploro et exposeo? Nolite, si, in nostro omnium fletu, nullam lacrimam adspexistis Milonis, si vultum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilem ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minus ei parere. <sup>3</sup> Haud scio, an multo etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim si in gladiatoris pugnis, et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortuna, timidos atque supplices, et ut vivere liceat obsecrantes, etiam odisse solemus, fortes et animosos, et se acriter ipsos morti offerentes, servare cupimus; <sup>4</sup> eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quam qui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus? 93. Me quidem, iudices, exanimant, et interimunt hæ voces Milonis, quas audio assidue, et quibus intersum quotidie. "Valeant, inquit,

valeant cives mei; sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; ~~st~~ hæc urbs præclara mihiq̄ue patria carissima, quoquo modo erit merita de me; tranquilla re publica mei cives (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur; ego <sup>5</sup>cedam atque abibo; si mihi bona re publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala, et quam primam tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in ea conquiescam. 94. O frustra, inquit, mei suscepti labores! O spes fallaces! O cogitationes inanes meæ! Ego, quum tribunus plebis, re publica oppressa, me senatui dedissem, <sup>6</sup>quem extinctum acceperam, equitibus Romanis, quorum vires erant debiles, bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant, mihi unquam bonorum præsidium defuturum <sup>7</sup>putarem? ego, quum te (mecum enim sæpissime loquitur) patriæ reddidissem, mihi putarem in patria non futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem secuti sumus? <sup>8</sup>ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italiæ voces? ubi denique tua illa, M. Tulli, quæ plurimis fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio? <sup>9</sup>mihinc ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?"

XXXV. 95. Nec vero hæc, iudices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. <sup>1</sup>Negat enim se, negat, ingratis civibus fecisse, quæ fecerit; timidis et omnia pericula circumspicientibus, non negat. <sup>2</sup>Plebem et infimam multitudinem, quæ, P. Clodio duce, fortunis vestris imminebat, eam, quo tutior esset vestra vita, se fecisse commemorat, ut non modo virtute flecteret, sed etiam tribus suis patrimoniis deleniret; <sup>3</sup>nec timet, ne, quum plebem muneribus placarit, vos non conciliarit meritis in rem publicam singularibus. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis sæpe esse perspectam, <sup>4</sup>vestras vero et vestrorum ordinum occursationes, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse dicit. 96. Meminit etiam, <sup>5</sup>vocem sibi præconis modo defuisse, quam minime desiderarit, populi vero cunctis suffragiis, quod unum cupierit, se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, <sup>6</sup>si hæc contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, non facti crimen obstare. Addit hæc, quæ



certe vera sunt, fortes et sapientes viros non tam præmia <sup>7</sup>sequi solere recte factorum, quam ipsa recte facta; se nihil in vita nisi præclarissime fecisse, si quidem nihil sit præstabilius viro, quam periculis patriam liberare; beatos esse, quibus ea res honori fuerit a suis civibus, 97. nec tamen eos miseros, <sup>8</sup>qui beneficio cives suos vicerint; sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, <sup>9</sup>si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam; esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur, quæ efficeret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam in cælum homines viderentur ascendere. 98. “De me, inquit, semper populus Romanus, semper omnes gentes loquentur, <sup>10</sup>nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas. Quin hoc tempore ipso, <sup>11</sup>quum omnes a meis inimicis faeces invidiæ meæ subjiçantur, tamen omni in hominum cœtu gratis agendis, et gratulationibus habendis, et omni sermone celebramur. <sup>12</sup>Omitto Etruriæ festos et actos et institutos dies; <sup>13</sup>centesima lux est hæc ab interitu P. Clodii et, opinor, altera; qua fines imperii populi Romani sunt, ea non solum fama jam de illo, sed etiam lætitia peragravit. Quamobrem, <sup>14</sup>ubi corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris et jam versatur, et semper habitabit nominis mei gloria.”

XXXVI. 99. <sup>1</sup>Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his absentibus; sed iisdem audientibus hæc ego tecum, Milo: te quidem, quum isto animo es, satis laudare non possum; sed, quo est ista magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore divellor. Nec vero, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi, non male aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optime. Nullum mihi unquam, iudices, tantum dolorem inuretis (etsi quis potest esse tantus?), <sup>2</sup>sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. <sup>3</sup>Quæ si vos cepit oblivio, aut si in me aliquid offendistis, cur non id meo capite potius luitur, quam Milonis? Præclare enim vixero, <sup>4</sup>si quid mihi acciderit prius, quam hoc tantum mali videro. 100. Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T. Anni, nullum a me amoris,

nullum studii, nullum pietatis officium defuit. Ego <sup>5</sup> inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi, ego meum sæpe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum tuorum, ego me plurimis pro te supplicem abjeci, bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum, <sup>6</sup> in communionem tuorum temporum contuli; hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est parata, <sup>7</sup> si qua dimicatio capitis futura, depono. Quid jam restat? quid habeo, quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non abnuo, non recuso, vosque obsecro, judices, ut vestra beneficia, quæ in me contulistis, aut in hujus salute augeatis, <sup>8</sup> aut in ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

XXXVII. 101. His lacrimis non movetur Milo. Est quodam incredibili robore animi; exilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturæ finem esse, non pœnam. <sup>1</sup> Sed hic ea mente, qua natus est; quid vos, judices? quo tandem animo eritis? Memoriam Milonis retinebitis, ipsum ejicietis? et erit <sup>2</sup> dignior locus ullus in terris, qui hanc virtutem excipiat, quam hic, qui procreavit? Vos, vos appello, <sup>3</sup> fortissimi viri, qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effudistis; vos in viri et in civis invicti periculo appello, centuriones, vosque, milites; vobis non modo inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis, et huic judicio præsidentibus, hæc tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, exterminabitur, projicietur?

102. O me miserum, O me infelicem! Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti <sup>4</sup> per hos, ego te in patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? <sup>5</sup> mene non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in qua causa non potuisse? <sup>6</sup> quæ est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? ab iis, qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquirunt; quo deprecante? me,

103. <sup>7</sup> Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judices, quum illa <sup>8</sup> indicia communis exitû indagavi, patefeci, protuli, extinxi? Omnes in me meosque redundant <sup>9</sup> ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem restitutus?

Nolite, obsecro vos, acerbiorē mihi pati rēditum esse, quam fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam qui possum putare me restitutum esse, si distrahar ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?

XXXVIII. <sup>1</sup> Utinam dii immortales fecissent (<sup>2</sup> pace tua, patria, dixerim; metuo enim, ne scelerate dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam pie), utinam P. Clodius non modo viveret, sed etiam prætor, consul, dictator esset potius, quam hoc spectaculum viderem! 104. O dii immortales! <sup>3</sup> fortem, et a vobis, iudices, conservandum virum! <sup>4</sup> “Minime, minime, inquit. Immo vero pœnas ille debitas luerit; nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas.” Hicne vir <sup>5</sup> patriæ natus, usquam nisi in patria morietur, aut, si forte, pro patria? hujus vos <sup>6</sup> animi monumenta retinebitis, corporis in Italia nullum sepulcrum esse patiemini? hunc sua quisquam sententiâ ex hac urbe expellet, <sup>7</sup> quem omnes urbes expulsam a vobis ad se vocabunt? 105. O terram illam beatam, quæ hunc virum exceperit; hanc ingratam, si ejecerit, miseram, si amiserit! Sed finis sit. Neque enim præ lacrimis jam loqui possum, et hic se lacrimis defendi vetat. Vos oro obtestorque, iudices, <sup>8</sup> ut in sententiis ferendis, quod sentietis, id audeatis. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem, mihi credite, is maxime probabit, qui, in iudiciis legendis, optimum, et sapientissimum, et fortissimum quemque delegit.



NOTES.



## FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE conspiracy of Catiline, one of the most daring and wicked undertakings recorded in Roman history, was formed B. C. 62. As a knowledge of the events which preceded and led to this conspiracy, will enable the student better to understand and appreciate the Catilinarian Orations, the following brief sketch is here presented.

Lucius Sergius Catiline, of the patrician gens Sergia, was distinguished among his cotemporaries for his mental as well as bodily powers, but, unfortunately, no less for his debauchery, cruelty, and reckless ambition. In the time of the proscription of Sulla, Catiline was one of the most active and cruel tools of the dictator, and his own brother and brother-in-law fell by his hands. By his talents and exertions, aided by the influence of his family and friends, he obtained the office of quæstor and prætor; and his next step of preferment, in all probability, would have been the consulship. But in the year B. C. 66, having obtained the administration of Africa as proprætor, on his return from that province, he was accused of extortion (*rerum repetundarum*) by P. Clodius Pulcher, and, though he escaped condemnation by bribing both the accuser and the judges, yet in consequence of this accusation, he was, by a decree of the senate, prevented from becoming a candidate for the consulship. Annoyed at this measure, he entered into a conspiracy with P. Autronius Pætus, and P. Cornelius Sulla, and others, to murder, on the 1st of January, B. C. 65, the newly elected consuls and senators. The plot however was discovered, and precautions taken to prevent its execution. The conspirators then deferred the execution of their design to the 5th of February, but even then it did not succeed; for Catiline, in his eagerness, gave the signal

before all his associates were assembled, and the few who were present had not the courage to attempt any thing. An inquiry into this affair was dropped, because the senate had neither sufficient evidence nor courage to act with the necessary energy, and it is possible, also, that a strict inquiry might have involved some of the senators themselves.

The year after this, Catiline escaped from another accusation for his concern in the proscriptions of Sulla. Though one of the most seriously implicated, by the connivance of Julius Cæsar, who was then *quæstor inter sicarios*, he was saved, while others less guilty were punished. This indulgence only encouraged Catiline to give way the more to his propensities, so dangerous to the republic, and all good citizens; and in addition to this, he was urged on by his debts, his associates, and his ambition.

Catiline again offered himself as a candidate for the consulship for the year B. C. 63. He promised his friends, that if he should succeed, he would remove all grievances from the republic; that all differences between poor and rich, high and low, should cease; that he would bring about a general cancelling of debts, and the proscription of the wealthy; and that all the offices of the state, as well as sacerdotal dignities, should be given to his confederates (Sallust Cat., §§ 20, 21). These promises, as well as those to whom they were made, soon became known. Q. Curius, one of Catiline's associates, communicated the scheme to Fulvia, a dissolute woman, and she spread the secret further. The knowledge of this plot immediately had its influence on the elections. Cicero was unanimously elected consul, and C. Antonius defeated Catiline by a majority of a few votes.

Catiline, however, not disheartened, again tried to obtain the consulship for the following year (B. C. 62), having previously greatly increased the number of his followers and friends, by the addition of various malcontents and desperadoes. As he had failed by lawful means, he determined to carry his point by force of arms. He sought and found adherents in Rome; and, especially in Etruria, great numbers flocked around the centurion, C. Manlius, a veteran of the time of Sulla: he was stationed at Fæsulæ, and soon had an army ready to fight. In Rome itself, Catiline made every effort to win the favor of the lower orders. People suspected and dreaded his plans: the laws against bribery were made more stringent, and the consular elections, which ought to have taken place at the end of July, were put off to the 20th of October, and afterwards to the 21st. Cicero, who was ever watchful of his movements, had openly shown to Catiline his suspicions of him; but after he again received a detailed account of the plans of the conspirators from Q. Curius and Fulvia, he boldly came forward in the senate, and drew the attention of the house to the existence of the treasonable plot. In the night following, Cicero, through means of



Crassus, received a number of anonymous letters, cautioning him against Catiline and his bloody designs, and advising him speedily to take to flight. But, in the morning, Cicero produced these letters in the senate, distributed them among the senators to whom they were addressed, and loudly called upon Catiline to give an account of his proceedings. Catiline, after having given an impudent and insolent answer, withdrew, uttering threats against the senate. The result of all this, however, was, that at the elections on the following day, D. Junius Silanus was elected first consul, and L. Licinius Muraena received a few more votes than Catiline, who was thus again defeated.

Catiline now felt himself driven to extremities, and resolved to use violence; he saw that the senate had taken serious precautions; that the consuls, as in times of great danger, had received unlimited power; that troops were sent to the districts threatened by the conspirators; and that Rome itself was, as it were, in a state of siege. Accordingly, in the night between the 6th and 7th of November, Catiline had a meeting of his friends in the house of Læca, where it was determined that Cicero and a number of senators should be murdered, that fire should be set to several parts of Rome at the same time, and that Catiline should proceed to the camp of Manlius. In the very hour in which this was planned, Cicero was informed of it by Fulvia. He forthwith summoned a meeting of the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator for the next day. Catiline had the audacity to make his appearance there, but the senators showed him their abhorrence and contempt by moving from the places near the spot where he sat. But as this had no influence upon him, Cicero, seized with amazement and indignation, rose and delivered this, his first oration against Catiline, which is one of the most splendid that have come down to us, more especially because it bears the impress of an extempore speech, and thus furnishes us the most perfect evidence of Cicero's brilliant and successful eloquence.

“In point of effect, this oration must have been perfectly electric. The disclosure, to the criminal himself, of his most secret purposes; their flagitious nature, threatening the life of every one present; the whole course of his villainies blazoned forth with the fire of incensed eloquence; and the adjuration to him, by fleeing from Rome, to free his country from such a pest, were all wonderfully calculated to excite astonishment, admiration, and horror.

“The great object of the whole oration was to drive Catiline into banishment; and it appears somewhat singular, that so dangerous a personage, and one who might have been so easily convicted, should thus have been forced, or even allowed, to withdraw to his army, instead of being secured

and punished" (Dunlop's Rom. Lit.). Sallust mentions that he attempted a reply to this invective, but there is reason to believe that in this he is in error. Feeling the thorough contempt in which he was held, Catiline then, with fearful threats, quitted the senate, and, in the night following, he, together with three hundred of his followers, betook themselves to Manlius in Etruria.

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NOTES.

**1.—1.** *Quo-usque tandem*, "How long then." Instead of addressing the Senate on the subject for which they were called together, the orator, filled with amazement at seeing Catiline present himself in the senate, apparently with a view to intimidate Cicero, or to face down the accusations against him by hypocritically assuming the appearance of an innocent and injured man, breaks out in this abrupt and eloquent invective addressed to Catiline himself, to whom of course every eye was now directed with indignation. The question here put refers to the long period during which he had been engaged in plots against his country, and the means by which he had so often eluded the punishment due to his crimes. See Introduction. The word *tandem* gives emphasis to the question. — **2.** *Furor iste tuus*, "That madness of thine?" *iste* is the demonstrative of the second person, and generally has a reference to the person addressed. B. § 31, Obs. 2. Besides this reference, it here marks contempt; B. § 30, Obs. 3, 3d. A. & S. § 207, Rem. 25; and *tuus* more emphatically directs it to its object. — **3.** *Eludet*, "Baffle," a term used to express the movements of the gladiator in avoiding the blow of his adversary. — **4.** *Quem ad finem?* "To what limit," i. e. "How far?" — **5.** *Nihil*, "Nothing," "in no degree," the accusative without a preposition, used to express a strong negation; B. § 124, Obs. 4. A. & S. § 231, Rem. 5. — **6.** *Nocturnum præsidium Palatii*, "The nocturnal guard of the Palatine." Now, as in other times of danger, a guard of soldiers was placed on the Palatine hill for the protection of the city, and of the Senate assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the foot of the hill, and which for this reason is called below *munitissimus locus*. The emperors afterwards having taken up their residence here, the term *Palatium* came to signify the residence of the emperor. Hence our word *palace*. — **7.** *Urbis vigiliæ*, "Sentinels," or "guards of the city." These were placed through the city as patrols in charge of the inferior magistrates. *Decrevit Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur*, &c. Sall. Cat. 30. — **8.** *Timor populi*, "The con-

sternation of the people." *Repente omnes tristitia invasit, festinare, trepidare, &c.* Sall. Cat. 31. — **9.** *Habendi senatus.* B. § 147, R. lxiii. A. & S. § 275, ii. "Of holding the senate." Some copies have *senatum* governed by *habendi*. — **10.** *Ora vultusque,* "The faces and the looks." *Ora*, by synecdoche, means "the face" or "countenance;" *vultus* (from, *volo*), the expression, here, "the looks," denoting indignation. — **11.** *Patere,* "Are open (to view):" — *constrictam, &c.,* lit. "firmly grasped by the knowledge of all these;" i. e. completely understood by, and clear to all, so that escape is impossible. — **12.** *Proxima (nocte),* "Last night:" — *superiore nocte,* "the night before" (the last). The whole clause *quid ceperis* is the object of *ignorare*, and consequently the verbs in the subjunctive. B. § 140-5. A. & S. § 265: — *consilii,* the genitive governed by *quid*. B. §. 106, R. viii. A. & S. § 212, Rem. 3. — **13.** *Hic,* "This man." Cicero here addresses the senate, and speaks of Catiline in the third person. — **14.** *Viri fortes,* "Brave men," spoken ironically: — *satisfacere rei publicæ videmur,* "seem (to ourselves) to satisfy the state," i. e. to do enough—to do all that is required of us—to do our duty to the state. N. B. *Res publica,* often in one word (*respublica*), is here always in two. — **15.** *Istius,* "Of that wretch," an expression of strong contempt. See above 2. — **16.** *Pestem istam.* Cicero here again addresses Catiline; and the term *istam* refers to him as the author of the "destruction" spoken of, as the next clause states. — **17.** *An vero.* *Vero* renders the interrogative indicated by *an* more emphatic. Tib. Gracchus, in his tribuneship, renewed the Licinian agrarian law, to prevent any individual from possessing more than 500 jugera of the public land. He endeavored also, it is said, to secure the Roman franchise to the Italians. When he sued a second time for the tribuneship, he, with 300 followers, was slain by the infuriated senators, led on by Scipio Nasica, who, though Pontifex Maximus, was not a magistrate, and is therefore here called *privatus*. This happened B. C. 133. — **18.** *Medioeriter labefactantem,* "Disturbing but slightly." In this way he extenuates the criminality of Gracchus, to place the guilt of Catiline in a stronger light; and to contrast more strongly the conduct of Scipio, who was not a magistrate, with that of the consuls, the chief magistrates of the republic, in their lenity to Catiline. — **19.** *Nam illa, &c.,* "For those, as being too ancient, I pass over, (for example) that C. Servilius Ahala, &c." The word *nam* here, as always, introduces a reason for something going before, expressed or implied. As if he had said: "I might mention other cases, but do not." *Nam illa,* "For those," &c. The case here referred to, but not adduced, was this: Sp. Mælius, one of the richest men of the state, was suspected by the patricians of aiming at the sovereignty, because he, as they thought,

courted the favor of the people, by distributing corn to them liberally at his own expense, in a time of great scarcity. C. Servilius Ahala, master of the horse to the dictator Q. Cincinnatus, slew him with his own hand when the people tried to rescue him from the licitors who had seized him to bring him before the dictator, B. c. 439. — 20. *Ista—virtus*, “Such public virtue,” “such patriotism;” *iste*, and sometimes *hic* and *ille*, like *is*, before *ut* or a relative, where comparison or degree is expressed, has the force of *tulis*, and may be rendered *such*, *of such a kind*, and the relative after it, by *as* or *that*. B. § 31, Obs. 2. A. & S. § 207, Rem. 26. — 21. *Habemus senatus consultum*, &c. The decree of the senate here referred to, is that by which the consuls, in extraordinary cases, were clothed with absolute power to do whatever the public exigencies seemed to demand, without consulting the senate. This decree was in these words, *ut consules viderent ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet*, and is here called *vehemens et grave*, “vigorous and weighty.” Under this law, the consuls might at once have seized and punished Catiline; but they thought proper to pursue a different course, the wisdom of which Cicero here seems to question. — 22. *Rei publicæ*, here, is the genitive governed by *consilium*, as *ordinis* is by *auctoritas*. The meaning is, “neither the wisdom of the commonwealth, nor the authority of this order (the senate), is at fault, but we,” &c.

II.—1. *Quondam*, “At a former time,” viz., B. c. 121. These instances are here mentioned, to show with what vigor and effect the consuls on former occasions had acted under the law, *vehemens et grave*, referred to above. Fabius Maximus was consul with Opimius, but it seems the latter only was named in this decree. — 2. *Clarissimo patre*, &c., supply *natus*, “Descended from a most renowned father,” &c. B. § 119, Rule xxiii. A. & S. § 246. *Clarissimo* qualifies *avo*, and *majoribus*, as well as *patre*, with which it immediately agrees. B. § 98, Obs. 2 and 4. A. & S. § 205, Rem. 2, Exc. The father of Gracchus was Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who had twice been consul, and had once celebrated a triumph. His maternal grandfather was P. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. — 3. *M. Fulvius consularis*, “M. Fulvius of consular rank.” He had been consul B. c. 125. He was the friend and follower of C. Gracchus, and in the struggle between Opimius and Gracchus was killed with his two sons. — 4. *C. Mario*, &c., the dative governed by *permissa est*. B. § 126, R. iii. In this instance both consuls were named in the decree. — 5. *L. Saturninum*, &c. Instead of the accusative, Prof. Authon has the genitive, governed by *mortem*, and *mortem*, according to this construction, is governed by *remorata est*, used transitively, and the whole is rendered,

“Did the satisfaction due to the republic delay, for a single day thereafter, the death of L. Saturninus?” &c. Some others again govern the genitive by *mors ac pœna* together in the nominative, as the subject of *remorata est* used intransitively. Ernesti and most other editors have *Saturninum*, &c., as in the text, governed by *remorata est* used transitively. This reading is usually rendered, “Did death and the satisfaction due to the state, for a single day, fail to overtake L. Saturninus,” &c. “Fail to overtake” is indeed a free and unusual rendering of *remorata est*, but it very evidently expresses the meaning of the whole. “Retain” (which is the strict meaning of the word), viz., in life, i. e., “suffer to live,” conveys the same idea. But if we should suppose an ellipsis of *perdere*, *excipere*, or the like, after *remorata est* used intransitively, all difficulty would disappear; and as this accords fully with the meaning of the sentence, it would seem to be a less violent solution of the difficulty, than, from mere conjecture, to change the whole structure of the sentence. Muretus thinks that *mors (ac)* is an interpolation made by some one to explain the meaning of *rei publicæ pœna*. — 6. *Vicesimum diem*, &c. (the acc. of time, B. § 131. R. xli. A. & S. § 236), is here contrasted with *unum diem*, to show the lenity exercised towards Catiline. According to this, if taken strictly, the decree referred to must have been passed on the 20th Oct. preceding; but, as it was not passed till the 21st, Cicero must be regarded as speaking in round numbers. See III., 4. — 7. *Confestim interfectum te esse convenit*, “It was fit that you should have been put to death immediately,” viz., on the passing of the decree, as was done in the cases referred to. *Convenit* is in the perfect tense. — 8. *Patres conscripti*, “Conscript fathers”—a title by which the Roman senators were addressed. At first they were called *patres*. The original number, as chosen by Romulus, was one hundred. It was some time afterwards doubled by Tarquinius Priscus, those added being called *patres minorum gentium*. This number having been greatly diminished by the cruelties of Tarquinius Superbus, was, after the expulsion of the kings, increased by Brutus, the first consul, to three hundred, from the leading men of equestrian rank. Those now enrolled were, by way of distinction, called *patres conscripti*—a title afterwards given to all the senators assembled. The mode of address at first probably was *patres et conscripti*, which, by omitting the *et*, came to be *patres conscripti*: — *me esse clementem*. See B. § 144, Obs. 3. A. & S., § 210. — 9. *Dissolutum*, “Negligent”—*me ipsum*, “myself;” often *ipse* agreeing with *ego*, but translated with *me*, rendering it emphatic. See Idioms, 33. B. § 98, Exc. 5. A. & S. § 207, Rem. 28. — *Inertiæ nequitiaque*, “of inactivity and remissness.” — 10. *Etruriæ faucibus*, “At the entrance of (in the defiles or passes lead

ing to) Etruria." Fæsulæ, where Manlius now had his camp, was a town of Etruria (now Fiesoli), at the foot of the Apennines, near where Florence now stands: — *imperatorem*, scil. Catiline. — 11. *Credo*, "I suppose," "I presume," used parenthetically, and of course not affecting the construction of the rest of the sentence: — *ne non* (= *ut*), "that;" two negatives being equivalent to an affirmative. B. § 134, Obs. 3, and 140, Obs. 6. A. & S. § 277, Rem. 3, and § 262, Rem. 7. Arrange thus—*ne non omnes boni (dicant) hoc factum esse serius a me, potius quam, &c.* — 12. *Certa de causa*, "For a certain reason." Cicero's reason for thus acting is more fully explained towards the end of the oration. Had Catiline been put to death in the prompt and summary manner referred to in the foregoing examples, such was the duplicity and cunning with which he managed to conceal his wickedness, that many would have thought he was put to death without just cause. Fearing this, therefore, though there was danger, Cicero thought it better to wait till his true character should be fully developed to the conviction of all: — *ut faciam* = *facere*. — 13. *Tui similis*. B. § 111, Obs. 2. A. & S. § 222, Rem. 2. *Fateatur,—audeat*, subjunctives. B. § 141, Rule i. A. & S. § 264–7. — *Obsessus*, "beset," "closely watched."

III.—1. *Nejarios*, "Impious." This term intimates that such assemblies were an offence against divine as well as human laws, and detested by gods as well as men. — 2. *Privata domus*, referring to the house of Læca, where Catiline and his associates met on the night of 6th Nov. — *contingere*, "confine," "prevent from escaping." — *illustrantur*, "are brought to light," referring to *nox tenebris*: — *erumpunt*, "burst forth;" referring to *domus parietibus*. — 3. *Istam mentem*, "That detestable purpose of thine," the idea of abhorrence being expressed by *istam*. See I, 2. — *Crede mihi*, "take my advice," for that scheme is blasted, you may as well abandon it, and try some other scheme of wickedness. — *que jam necum licet recognoscas*, "which (= and these) also you may now review with me," and then he goes on, in what follows, by a series of questions, to lay before him, but chiefly before the senate, the (*consilia*) designs referred to. — 4. *Ante diem duodecimum kalendas*. This does not mean "before the twelfth day," but is a technical expression equivalent to *die duodecimo ante kalendas*, "the twelfth day before the kalends," i. e., 21st October. For the different methods by which the Romans expressed their dates, see B. App., p. 305. A. & S. § 326. This, and the two following below, *ante diem sextum, &c.*, i. e. 27th Oct.; and *in ante diem quintum*; i. e. on the 28th Oct., are the same as the fourth example there mentioned. — Catiline having

expressed himself in the senate, on that day, in such a way as to excite alarm, the senate forthwith passed the decree (*Senatus consultum*) referred to in the preceding sections, I. 21, and II. 6. — 5. *Satellitum atque administrum*, "The accomplice and assistant." — 6. *Ego idem*, "I likewise," "I at the same time." Such is usually the force of *idem* annexed to a noun or pronoun as here. — 7. *Te optimatum contulisse*, &c., "That you had consulted concerning (had resolved on) the slaughter of the nobles." — The Optimates among the Romans were those of whatever rank who favored the interests of the senate, sometimes also called *proceres*, and sometimes, as here, *principes*. In opposition to these, as a party, were the *populares*—persons who studied to gain the favor of the multitude. This was a division of faction or party, not of rank, for in both were found persons of all ranks. The former generally consisted of the wealthy and more respectable class of the community; the latter, of the poorer, more turbulent, and factious. In Cicero, the term *optimates* commonly means persons distinguished by rank or political merit. — 8. *Nostra cade qui*, &c., equivalent to *nostrum* (gen. plur.) *cade qui*, &c., "with the slaughter of us who had remained:" *qui* has its antecedent in *nostra* = *nostrum*, and is therefore in the first person plural. B. § 99, Obs. 2; A. & S. § 206 (12). — *Remansissenus*, the subjunctive in oblique discourse, and to be translated as the indicative. B. § 141, Rule vi. A. & S. § 266, 2. — 9. *Quid?* "And furthermore." *Quid?* used interrogatively, as here, is a sort of exclamation, abrupt and elliptical, and may be rendered fully, "What shall be said to this, that," "How is it that," or more briefly, "and furthermore," "moreover," "nay." VII, 4. — *quum*, "when." B. § 140, Obs. 3. A. & S. § 263-5. — *Kalendis ipsis Novembribus*, "On the very first day of November." — *Præneste* (acc. sing.), a city of Latium, about 200 stadia or 25 miles S. E. from Rome. — 10. *Non modo*, for *non modo non*. In this expression the second *non* is sometimes omitted. B. § 134, Obs. 5. A. & S., § 277, Rem. 6.

IV.—1. *Noctem illam superiorem*, "That night before last," also called below *priore nocte*, viz., 6th Nov., on which night Catiline with his associates met in the house of Læca, to make arrangements for carrying their wicked purposes into effect. — 2. *Inter fulcarios*, "Into the scythe-makers' street;" lit., "among the scythe-makers," into their quarter of the city. — 3. *Complures*; Sallust mentions eleven senators, four of equestrian rank, besides many nobles from the colonies and municipal towns. Cat. 17. — 4. *Convineam*, "I will prove it incontestably." — 5. *Sanctissimo*, &c., "Most sacred and venerable assembly;" viz., the

Roman senate. — 6. *Qui*, i. e., *ii qui cogitent*, "Such as are plotting." To this sense the subjunctive *cogitent* directs. B. § 141, Obs. 2, 2d. A. & S. § 264. 1. — 7. *Et de re publica sententiam rogo*, "And (as senators) I ask their opinion (or vote) on public affairs." This belonged to the duty of the consul as president of the senate. — 8. *Distribuisti*, viz., among the conspirators. — 9. *Quos Romæ*. scil. *Lentulus cum ceteris*. Sall. Cat., 43. — *relinqueres*, &c.; For these subjunctives see B. § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. A. & S., § 264-5. — *Urbis partes*. To Statilius and Gabinius was the task assigned to fire the city in twelve different places—*opportuna loca*. Sall. Cat., 43. — 10. *Confirmasti*, "You assured them." — 11. *Duo equites*. These were C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius. Sall. Cat., 28. — 12. *Comperi*, "I found out," viz., by means of Fulvia. — 13. *Ad me salutatum*, "To me to salute me," "to pay their respects to me." Supine, B. § 148. 1. A. & S. § 276. II. It was customary for persons of high rank to receive visitors early in the morning, and the earlier they came, the greater the respect shown. Juv. Sat., III. 127-130. — *jam*, "already," i. e., before their arrival. — *Id temporis*, i. e., *ad id temporis*, same as *eo tempore*. B. § 131, Obs. 1. A. & S., § 253, Rem. 3.

V.—1. *Quæ quum ita sint*, "Since these things are so." B. § 99, Obs. 8, and 140, Obs. 3. A. & S., § 263. 5. — 2. *Tua illa Manliana castra*, "That camp (army) of thine under Manlius." *Illa* refers to the former mention of this camp. See II. Note 10. — *desiderant*, "long for," "earnestly desire." — 3. *Si minus*, "If not all," lit., "if less," viz., than all; — *quam plurimos*, "as many as possible." B. § 134, Obs. 6, 3d. A. & S. § 127. — 4. *Murus*, "The wall" scil. of the city; — *versari*, "dwell," a frequentative dep. from *verto*, and strictly means, "to move about in a place," hence, *to dwell, live, remain*. — 5. *Magna diis*, &c., "Great thanks are due to the immortal gods;" — *atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori*, "and especially to this Jupiter Stator." The orator with great effect here uses *huic*, "this," pointing to the deity as if present in his own temple in which the senate was then assembled: *ipsi* adds emphasis here which cannot well be expressed by any corresponding word. The epithet *Stator* was given to Jupiter by Romulus, because, in answer to his prayer, he arrested the flight of the Romans before the Sabines, made them *to stand (stare)*. and successfully beat back their enemies. Liv. I, 12: — *postem*, scil. Catiline. — 6. *In uno homine*, "In the person of one man," meaning himself, against whom the assaults of Catiline had been so often directed, but, owing to his great watchfulness without success. These attacks he goes on to mention in what follows.



That the safety of the state would be perilled by his death, he mentions below. — 7. *Consuli designato*, “Consul elect.” The consul was called *designatus* from the time of his election, usually in July, till he entered on his office in January following. — 8. *Proximis comitiis consularibus*, “At the last consular election.” This was held 21st Oct., only a few days before. Catiline was a candidate and defeated, while his competitors Silanus and Murena were elected: — *campo*, “in the Campus Martius,” where the elections were held. This was a large plain on the banks of the Tiber, but it is now mostly occupied by the modern city of Rome. — 9. *Petisti*, “You thrust at me.” This, as here used, is a gladiatorial term, and signifies to make a pass or thrust at an antagonist. — 10. *Nunc jam—petis*, &c., “Now at this moment you attack openly the whole state.” Formerly Cicero was the object of his violence, now the whole commonwealth; formerly it was in secret, now, openly. — 11. *Id—facere*, “Do that,” viz., put Catiline to death: — *hujus imperii—proprium est*, “belongs to (is the right of) this government.” For the genitive here see B. § 111, Obs. 2. A. & S. § 222, Rem. 2: — *ad severitatem*, “in point of severity.” — 12. *Quod te jamdudum hortor*, here *quod* refers to the idea expressed by *exieris* as its antecedent “which,” namely, “to depart.” — 13. *Exhaurietur*, “Will be drained off,” a word used with reference to *sentina*, “the filthy rabble:” — *rei publicæ*, here, is the dative governed by *perniciosa*, and the order is *sentina tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa rei publicæ*. — 14. *Quid est?* “How is it?” “What is the matter?” — *jam faciebas*, “you were but just now doing” (attempting to do. B. § 44, ii. 2. A. & S. § 145, ii. 4.) — 15. *Si me consulis*, “If you consult me,” “If you ask my advice.” To have given such an order would have exposed Cicero to censure. The term *exsilium* was not used in a judicial sentence. The object was accomplished judicially, by forbidding a person the use of fire and water (*aque et ignis interdictio*), and, as he could not live without these, he was obliged to leave Italy. Often when persons by their conduct had brought themselves into danger, in order to escape this, they went into voluntary exile.

VI.—1. *Quid est enim*, “For what is there.” *Enim* connects its clause with the preceding sentence, as a reason for what is there said. — 2. *In qua nemo est*, &c. Arrange *In qua, extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum, nemo est qui*, &c.: “In which, out of, thy vile confederacy of abandoned men, there is no one who,” &c. — 3. *Non inusta est vitæ tuæ*, “is not branded on thy life.” — *Quod dedecus*, &c., “what shameful conduct in private life:” — *quæ libido*, “what

scenes of lust:" — *quod facinus*, "what daring wickedness:" — *quod flagitium*, "what pollution." — *Cui adolescentulo*, "To what youth:" — *corruptelarum*, "of corrupting arts:" — *ad libidinem facem*, "the incentive to debauchery." — 4. *Quid vero?* "And furthermore in fact," III., 9. — 5. *Quum morte uxoris*, &c., Catiline was said to have poisoned his first wife, and murdered her son, to make way for his marriage with Aurelia Orestilla. The *alio incredibili scelere* here is supposed by some to refer to the murder of his son; by others, to his seducing his own daughter, born of a vestal, with whom he had had criminal intercourse.—Catiline's murdering, or procuring the murder, of his first wife, is mentioned only by Cicero. — 6. *Sentis impendere tibi*, lit., "You will see ready to fall upon you," i. e. "you are sensible will be ready to overwhelm you:" — *proximis Idibus*, "at the next ides" (the ablative of time when); i. e. on the 13th Nov., only five days from that time. This refers to the demands that would then be made by his creditors for the amount of their debts, principal and interest; this being the time when such demands were usually made: — *domesticam tuam difficultatem*, namely, your debts: — *ad summam rem publicam*, "to the best interests of the state." — 7. *Horum*, "Of these present," viz. senators. — *Pridie kalendas Januarias*, "The day before the kalends of January," i. e. 31st Dec. B. C. 66. See the whole statement here referred to Sall. Cat. 18.—These infinitives *stetisse*, *paravisse*, *obstitisse*, with their subjects, are the objects of *nesciat*, which of course may be repeated before each: — *ae—non mentem aliquam*, &c., "and that not any consideration or fear on your part." — 8. *Ac jam illa omitto*, "And especially do I now pass over those former crimes:" — *neque enim*, &c., "for the crimes committed afterwards are neither obscure, nor (*non multa*) few in number." In this clause a reason is given for the statement in the preceding, as the word *enim* indicates. — 9. *Petitiones*, "thrusts," V., 9: — *parva quadam declinatione*, "by a slight bending aside:" — *et corpore*, "and with my body," i. e. movement of the body, viz. out of its place, to avoid, or ward off a blow. — 10. *Nihil agis*, &c., "You do nothing, you accomplish nothing, you undertake nothing:" — *neque tamen* &c., "and yet you do not desist." — 11. *Que quidem*, &c., "And indeed by what unhallowed rites *this* (dagger) has been consecrated and devoted (to its work) I know not."—Here *quæ*, for the reason suggested, B. § 99, Obs. 8, may be rendered "and this:" — *devota sit* is required to be in the subjunctive after *quibus*, an interrogative used indefinitely in a dependent clause. B. § 140, 5. A. & S. § 265: — *quod necesse putas*, "that you should deem it necessary," lit., "because you think it necessary."

VII.—1. *Sic enim*;—*enim* here introduces a reason for the softened tone of the preceding sentence. — *quæ nulla*, “none of which.” B. § 98, Obs. 9. A. & S. § 205, Rem. 17. — 2. *Amicis ac necessariis*, “Friends and connections.”—*Amicus* (from *amo*) is a friend who sincerely loves; *necessarius* (from *neesse*), a connection or friend, to whom one is bound by certain ties, but it does not involve the idea of affection. The senate was now unusually full (*tanta frequentia*), and though in it there were many friends and connections of Catiline, yet such was the evidence of his guilt, and such the universal abhorrence of his conduct, that not one of them dared to salute him; but, with a feeling of indignation and disgust, all rose and left that part of the benches (*subsellia*) where he sat. Such a mark of displeasure had never been witnessed before; and seeing this, Cicero asks. — 3. *Vocis exspectas contumeliam, &c.?* “Do you wait for the further reproach to be expressed by the words (of these), though you are already overwhelmed by the severest condemnation of their silence?” — 4. *Quid, quod* = *Quid dicam de eo, quod?* “What shall I say about this, that?” This is a very common expression in Cicero, and generally introduces something more surprising than what went before. Its meaning may be expressed briefly in English by *nay, nay even, but now, moreover*. This, however, will change the sentence from an interrogative into an affirmative form; thus, here: “nay, even at your arrival those seats near you were left empty:” — *nudam atque inanem*, “bare and empty,” i. e. “wholly deserted.” — 5. *Isto pacto—ut*, “In such a manner as,” viz. In the belief that I was planning their destruction. The comparison is very cutting, because the Romans were little concerned about the hatred and fear of their slaves. — 6. *Injuria*, “Undeservedly,” “Without just cause:” — *offensum*, “odious:” — *quorum mentes sensusque vulneras*, “whose understandings and feelings you insult and wound.” *Vulneras* is strictly applicable here to *sensus* only, but is applied, by Zeugma, to *mentes* also, B. § 150. 1. 2d. A. & S. § 323. 1. (2). You insult their understanding, by presuming on their want of discernment, and you wound their feelings by presenting yourself, in all your guilt and odiousness, among them. — 7. *Et jamdiu te nihil judicat, &c.*, “And now for a long time, judges, that you think of nothing but her destruction:” — *patria* being here represented as *parens omnium*, the crime of Catiline is properly expressed, and held up to greater detestation, by the term *parricidium*. — 8. *Quæ tecum sic agit, &c.*, “Who thus deals with thee, and in a certain manner, though silent, thus speaks:” — *nullum, &c.* From this to the end of the section is the remonstrance put by the orator into the mouth of the country (*patria*) as the “common parent of all.” — 9. *Impunita fuit ac libera,*

“Has been without punishment or restraint:” — *questiones*, “public prosecutions:” — *tu valuisti non solum ad*, “thou hast succeeded not only in,” lit., “thou hast had the power not only for.” — 10. *Superiora illa (scelera)*, “Those former crimes:” — alluding to the many murders (*civium multorum cæde*) committed by Catiline in the times of Sulla I. 1. — 11. *Nunc vero me* (scil. *patriam*) *totam esse, &c.*, “But now that I should be wholly (every where, in every part) in fear.” — The whole of this sentence, down to *abhorreat*, is the subject of *est ferendum*: — *quidquid inereperit*, “on every alarm,” lit. “whatever loud noise (crash) may have been made:” — *quod a tuo scelere abhorreat*, “which is not connected with thy crimes:” — *si est verus* (scil. *timor*) “if it is just” i. e. “if there is good ground for it.” — *ne=ut non*.

VIII.—1. *Nonne impetrare debeat?* “Ought she not to obtain her request?” The subjunctive *debeat* shows that the sentence is elliptical, and contains a direct appeal to Catiline himself on the subject; = *Nonne (putas ut) debeat, &c.*, “think you not that she ought,” &c. — 2. *Quid, quod*, see VII. 4. — *te ipse*, thyself, see II. 9: — *in custodiam*, “into private custody,” sometimes called *libera custodia*. Persons suspected of being dangerous to the state sometimes gave themselves up to the care or safe-keeping of another, in whom the public had confidence. This was done voluntarily, probably to produce an impression of their innocence, or to relieve the public mind from anxiety. Sometimes they were given over by the authorities to magistrates, or even to private persons, to be kept at their houses till they were tried. *Ad (= apud) M’.* (i. e. *Manius*) *Lepidum*, “with (at the house of) M.’Lepidus.” He held the consulship with Volcatius Tullus, B. C. 66, four years before this. — 3. *Iisdem parietibus*, “In the same house,” lit., “Within the same walls.” *Parietis* means the wall of a house—*murus*, a wall surrounding any enclosure, as a city, a camp, a garden, &c.; *mænia* (from *munire*), walls furnished with towers or bastions for attack as well as defence, hence *ramparts, fortifications, bulwarks*: — *qui essem*, “since (or seeing that) I was.” B. § 141, Rule III. A. & S. § 264. 8. — 4. *Q. Metellum*. Metellus was consul with L. Afranius, B. C. 60, two years after this. — 5. *Virum optimum M. Marcellum*. This Marcellus was one of those who knew of, and favored the conspiracy of Catiline, and of course a very different person from the one mentioned below. This passage down to *putasti* must be taken ironically: — *videlicet*, “no doubt,” ironically: — *ad suspicandum*, “to watch you:” — *ad vindicandum*, “to bring you to justice.” — 6. *Se ipse=se ipsum*, Ch. II. Note 9. — 7. *Refer inquis ad senatum*, “Lay the matter, you say, before the senate.” *Re-*

*ferre aliquid ad senatum* is the usual phrase for laying a matter before the senate for its consideration and decision. — 8. *Non referam*, "I will not refer it." (To do so is) *id quod*, &c., "a thing which is repugnant to my character." When as here a relative refers to a verb, or a whole proposition, it is neuter, and in such a case *id quod* is generally used instead of *quod*. — 9. *Quid est, Catilina?* We may suppose Cicero to have paused a little after giving the preceding bold order, to see if the senate sanctioned it, as he was confident they would, and then addressing Catiline, he says: *Quid est, Catilina?* "What is this, Catiline?" i. e., what is the meaning of this silence? — *æquid attendis?* "are you attending to it?" — *Æquid* is used in impassioned interrogation, merely as an interrogative particle like *an*, *num*, &c., but more emphatic, and of course has no corresponding word in the translation. — 10. *Quid.* "Why." — 11. *P. Sestio*, "To P. Sestius." This was P. Sestius Gallus, who was quæstor of C. Antonius. — *M. Marcellus*. This Marcellus was consul B. C. 51, and was defended in an oration by Cicero before Cæsar. See Oration for Marcellus, in this collection. He was a very different person from the M. Marcellus mentioned above: — *hoc ipso in templo*, "in this very temple:" — *vim et manus*, "their violence and their hands," i. e., "violent hands" — *de te autem*, "but with regard to you." — 12. *Videlicet*, "Of course," "forsooth," used ironically: — *vita vilissima*, "but their life of no value." — 13. *Quorum tu et frequentiam*, &c. Arrange thus:—*quorum tu potuisti et videre frequentiam*, &c., "Of whom thou couldst both see the number," &c. — 14. *Ut te hæc*, &c., arrange thus, *Ut prosequantur usque ad portas te relinquente hæc (manu) quæ*, &c., viz: "follow to the gates" (as a friendly escort). When persons went into exile their friends usually followed them as far as the gates of the city.

**IX.—1.** *Quamquam*, "And yet." — **2.** *Te ut ulla res frangat?* As the conjunction *ut* marks this, and the two following, as dependent clauses, supply *eredendumne sit fore*, or some such expression, and render, "Can it be believed that," &c. — **3.** *Duint*, an old form for *deut*. — **4.** *Tametsi video; video* has for its object the whole clause *quanta tempestas . . . . . impendat*: — *si minus*, "if not." — **5.** *Sed est tanti*, lit, "it is of so much value," i. e., "I esteem it a light thing," probably accompanying the word with a snap of the finger, or some such gesture, indicating how little he cared for such a storm; as much as to say, "I care not for that:" — *dummodo ista privata sit calamitas*, "provided that calamity of which you are the cause (such is the force of *ista*) be private" (i. e. confined to Cicero). — **6.** *Sed tu ut*, &c. These clauses,

separately, are dependent, and the subject of *est postulandum*: — *temporibus*, “to the interests.” — 7. *Neque enim is es, ut, &c.*, “For” (assigning the reason of the preceding statement)—“for thou art not such a person (of such a character) that,” &c. See I. 20, with reference: —  *pudor*, “a sense of shame.” — 8. *Recta scil. via*, “Straightway,” “immediately:” — *sermones* (in a bad sense) “the reproaches,” “the hard speeches:” — *molem istius invidiæ*, “the weight of that odium which you will bring upon me.” Such again is the force of *istius*; Ch. I., Note 2. The whole of this is irony. — 9. *Servire meæ laudi, &c.*, “To promote my praise and glory.” — 10. *Impio latrocinio*, “In your impious robbery,” called *impio*, because against his country. — 11. *Quamquam*, as before, Note 1. — *Quid ego te inviton*, “Why should I invite you,” scil. *exire*. B. § 139. 2., A. & S., § 260. ii. Here, *te* is emphatic as antecedent to the following relatives: — *qui tibi ad Forum, &c.*, “to wait in arms for thee near,” &c., B. § 141, Obs. 2, 4th, A. & S., § 264. 5. — 12. *Cui sciam*; “For whom I know.” — 13. *A quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam — sciam esse præmissam, quam, &c.*; “By whom also I know that that silver eagle has been sent before, which,” &c. A silver eagle with expanded wings, on the top of a spear, was the main standard of the legion. The term *illam* marks something notorious about that standard: it was the same which Marius had in the war against the Cimbri, and beside which, afterwards, according to the confident expectation of Cicero here expressed, Catiline fell in the battle which ended this conspiracy, Sall. Cat. 59. — 14. *Cui*, “For which” (eagle): — *sacrarium scelerum tuorum, &c.*, “a sanctuary of thy crimes;” i. e., a sanctuary in which was laid up this eagle, to be carried in your criminal undertaking against your country—a symbol to which your soldiers swear their wicked oath, and worship with unhal- lowed reverence. Hence the words *venerari* and *altaribus* below. — 15. *Tu ut illa, &c.* Supply as above, Note 2.

X.—1. *Ibis tandem aliquando*, “You will go at last,” scil. into the contest, and your own ruin. — 2. *Enim*, “For,” introducing a reason for what was just said: — *hæc res*, “this affair,” viz., this war against your country, and the destruction of her citizens. — 3. *Nactus es*, “You have got together;” arrange thus, *Nactus es manum improborum (hominum), conflata ex perditis atque derelictis non modo ab omni fortuna, verum etiam (a) spe*: — *improborum*, “of reprobates;” the word means persons morally bad, in the widest sense of the term. See Sall. Cat. 14, where their characters are described: — *conflata*, “brought together.” — 4. *Hic*, “Here,” i. e. in such society. — 5. *Ad hujus*

*vitæ studium*, "For the pursuit of this kind of life:" — *qui feruntur* "which are extolled," "published abroad," (viz. by your friends): — *meditati sunt*, "were practised." — 6. *Jacere humi*, (namely) "Your lying on the ground." This and *vigilare* are in a sort of apposition with *labores*, specifying the kind of labors which his friends were accustomed to admire in Catiline. They meant his indifference about accommodation, and his readiness to share the toils of the common soldier, by laying himself down on the ground to sleep, or depriving himself of sleep (*vigilare*), as circumstances might require. The words *ad obsidendum stuprum* ("to lie in wait for debauchery:")—*ad facinus obscundum*,—*insidiantem somno*, &c., are to be considered as the commentary of Cicero giving a very different turn to these "labors," which, however, is in perfect keeping with the character of Catiline. See that drawn at full length by Sallust, Cat. 5: — *bonis*, "the goods," "property." — 7. *Habes (locum) ubi ostentes*, "You have now a field in which you may display." This is irony: — *te confectum esse*, "that you have been ruined,"—"are undone." — 8. *Quum te a consulatu repuli*.—A few days before the delivery of this oration, viz., on the 21st Oct., when Catiline was for the third time a candidate for the consulship, he was defeated by the exertions of Cicero, who, the morning before, exposed his treasonable designs to the senate, and, in the Campus Martius, that day during the election, wore, under his cloak, a coat of mail to defend himself from the fury of Catiline. This was seen and understood by the people, which kindled such a blaze of indignation against Catiline, that he was defeated. This roused him to that desperation which he manifested in conducting this conspiracy against his country. See the introduction to this oration. — 9. *Ut exsul potius*, &c.; Observe the antitheses here between *exsul* and *consul*,—*latrocinium* and *bellum*. *Latrocinium* means "an attack by robbers."

XI.—1. *Nunc, Patres conscripti*.—Cicero now addresses himself directly to the senate, and requests them, instead of censuring him, to give him their earnest attention to what he had to say in his own justification, for the style of remark in which he had spoken to Catiline in their presence, ordering him to leave Rome, instead of seizing him, and ordering him to immediate execution, as he might have done. — 2. *Ut a me detester ac deprecor*, "That I may earnestly deprecate and avert (as an evil) from myself." No stronger terms could be used to express the earnestness of Cicero on this occasion. — 3. *Si mecum patria . . . . loquatur*, "If my country . . . . should say to me." Of the *pro-tasis* which begins here, and is continued to the end of this chapter,

we have the *apodosis* in the beginning of the next chapter. — 4. *M. Tulli*. The supposed complaint (*querimonia*) of his country, of all Italy, and of the whole republic, addressed to Cicero, is contained in the remaining part of this section. In this, the orator ingeniously makes his country assert, as the ground of her complaint, and confirm by the same facts, the very things which he had already asserted and confirmed respecting the power of the consuls to resort to the severest and most speedy measures in cases such as that of Catiline. — 5. *Tunc—exire patiere*, “Will you suffer to depart, him,” &c. — 6. *Evocatorem servorum*, “Who calls to arms the slaves,” lit. “the caller-forth of the slaves.” It appears from Sallust, that though a proposal had been made to employ the assistance of the slaves, and Lentulus had urged it on Catiline (Sall. Cat. 44), there is not only no mention of his concurring in this proposal, but Sallust mentions expressly that he refused it. Cat. 56, ad fin. — 7. *Non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus*, &c., “Not to have been driven from the city, but sent into it,” because, being permitted to go out, he would be in a condition to return to it with more power of mischief. — 8. *Mactari*, &c., “To be visited with the severest punishment,” lit. “To be sacrificed:” viz. as an atonement to his outraged country. — 9. *Mosne majorum (impedit)?* “Does the custom of our ancestors:” — *privati*. Ch. I. 17. — 10. *An leges quæ rogatæ sunt?* “Do the laws which have been enacted?” The phrase *rogare legem*, which strictly means to ask the people to give their decision, or vote on a law, came to signify to pass or enact a law. The laws here referred to were probably a *lex Valeria*, passed B. C. 509, respecting an appeal to the people against the magistrate, and punishing with death and confiscation of property any one who should attempt to usurp the government.—Liv. II. 8—the *leges Porciæ*, which ordained that no one should bind, scourge, or put to death a Roman citizen, and the *lex Sempronia*, passed B. C. 123, that no Roman citizen should be sentenced to death without a resolution of the people, &c. — 11. *Invidiam posteritatis*. *Invidiam* does not here mean “envy,” but “the odium,” “ill will,” “hatred,” or “censure of posterity.” — 12. *Præclaram vero populo*, &c., “Truly you are making a noble return to the people.” This is spoken ironically — *hominem per te cognitum*, “a man known through your own merits.” Cicero was a *novus homo*; i. e., he had no ancestors who had been invested with high offices at Rome. — 13. *Tam mature*, “So early.” Cicero was elected consul, *suo anno*, i. e., as soon as he was eligible on account of his age, which was after completing his 43d year, and having previously passed through (*omnes honorum gradus*) all the gradations of honors, viz. the offices of *quæstor*, *ædile*, and *prætor*. — 14. *Severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia*,



&c., "Is the odium arising from strictness and fearless firmness (in the discharge of duty) to be feared more, &c.?" — 15. *Tum te non existimas*, "Think you not that you will then be consumed by the fire of hatred?"

**XII.—1.** *His—vobis* (dat.) refers to the supposed complaint (*quarimonia*) of his country, &c., above. Ernesti has *hic* instead of *his*—not so good. — 2. *Si judicarem*, "If I had thought," referring to the past, B. § 45. ii. 2.—A. & S. § 260, Rem. 2: — *hoc* refers to the clause, *Catilinam morte multari*, "that Catiline should be punished with death." — 3. *Unius usuram horæ*, "The enjoyment of one hour:" — *gladiatorum isti*, "to that gladiator," viz., Catiline—a term of reproach. — 4. *Etenim*, "For truly:" — *si contaminarunt*: the indicative after *si* intimates that this is not a mere supposition, but a fact: — *Saturnini*, &c., (gen.) governed by *sanguine*, used here by a common meton. for *nece*. — 5. *Ne quid invidia*, "That any odium." B. § 140. Obs. 6 and § 106. R. viii. —A. & S. § 262, Rem. 7, & § 212, Rem. 3. — *Hoc parricida* (abl.) viz., Catiline, see Ch. VII. 7. — 6. *Maxime impenderet*, "Should be ready to overwhelm me with its greatest force:" — *impenderet* refers here to the future. B. § 45, ii. 1.—A. & S. § 260, ii. (2). Compare with *judicaret* above, Note 2. — *hoc animo*, "of this opinion." — 7. *Nonnulli*, alluding to the senators who favored Catiline: — *dissimulent*, "conceal," "dissemble," "pretend to deny:" — *qui aluerunt*, "who have (actually) fostered:" observe the change from the subjunctive to the indicative. See Note 4. — *mollibus sententiis*, "by their indulgent opinions." — 8. *Quorum*, "Of these." B. § 99, Obs. 8. — *si in hunc animadvertissem*, "if I had inflicted punishment on him." In this sense, *animadverto* in the active voice has *in* with the accusative following it: — *regie*, "tyrannically," "in a tyrannical manner." From the expulsion of the kings, the Romans hated the very name of *rex*, being in their view synonymous with *tyrannus*, when it had reference to Rome: — *dicerent* seems here to stand in an independent proposition. B. § 139, 2.—A. & S. § 260. ii. Still it may be regarded as dependent on some such expression as *non dubito ut*. — 9. *Qui non videat*, "As not to see." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 10. *Intelligo*, "I clearly perceive:" — *posse reprimi*. "may be checked:" — *non comprimi*, "(but) cannot be crushed." Notice here the antithesis between *reprimi* and *comprimi*—*paullisper* and *in perpetuum*. — 11. *Quod si se ejecerit*, "But if he shall throw himself out of the city," i. e., go forth speedily: — *naufragos*, this word here means "bankrupts" (viz. in property and character). — 12. *Hæc tam adulta pestis*, "This so ripe a plague," meaning Catiline, who had now acquired so great power to harass and endanger the state; hence the term *adulta*.

**XIII.—1.** *Etenim jamdiu—versamur*, &c., “Truly we have now for a long time been living in the midst of;” i. e. surrounded by, namely, since the consulship of *Æmilius Lepidus*, B. C. 66, i. e., for the last three years: — *quo pacto*, “by what means,” “in what way.” — **2.** *Tanto latrocinio*, “So great a band of robbers.” — *iste*, pointing to *Catiline* with an expression of contempt. — **3.** *In venis atque in visceribus*, “In the veins and in the vitals:” comparing the republic, in its present crisis, to the human body under the influence of a dangerous disease. — **4.** *Æstu febrique*, “With a burning fever;” lit. “With heat and fever.” — **5.** *Istius pœna*, “By the death of that wretch:” — *vivis reliquis* (abl. absolute, B. § 146, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 257, Rem. 7.) “while the other (conspirators) remain alive.” As in the case of persons afflicted with a violent fever, who, apparently relieved for the moment by a draught of water, soon become worse, if the disease is not eradicated; so the state, though it might seem to be relieved for a little by the death of *Catiline*, unless the other conspirators also were cut off, would soon be in a worse condition than before. — **6.** *Circumstare tribunal pratoris urbani*. The prætor here alluded to is *L. Valerius Flaccus*, who was dreaded by these *naufragi*, on account of his strict justice: and their object in standing round his tribunal in great numbers, doubtless was, if possible, to intimidate him, and deter him from the administration of justice: — *Obsidere*, “to beset:” — *malleolos*, “fire-darts,” so called from their resemblance to a little hammer or mallet. — **7.** *Quid de re publica sentiat*, “What his sentiments are respecting the republic.” — **8.** *Omnia (scelera)*, “All his crimes.” — **9.** *Hiscæ ominibus*, “With these omens,” namely, *cum summa rei publicæ salute*, “with the greatest safety of the state,” meaning, your going forth will be for the greatest safety of the state. — **10.** *Tum tu, Jupiter*. This address is made to the statue of *Jupiter* in the temple, and is to be regarded as intended for *Jupiter* himself. Arrange thus:—*tu, Jupiter, qui constitutus es a Romulo (stator urbis) iisdem auspiciis quibus hæc urbs (constituta est)*. Cities, it appears, as well as temples, were consecrated by taking the auspices, i. e., ascertaining the mind of the deity, by means of auspices. In reference to *Rome*, *Livy* represents *Romulus* as thus addressing *Jupiter*.—*Tuis jussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jeci*. *Liv.* I. 12. — **11.** *Statorum*, “Stator,” i. e., the stay or support. See *Ch. V. 5*: — *arcebit*, “wilt drive.” — **12.** *Inter se conjunctos scelcrum fœdere*, “Banded together by a compact of wickedness:” — *mactabis*, “wilt punish.”

## SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE second Catilinarian speech was delivered on the 9th of November (the day after he delivered the first), before the assembled people in the Forum. Catiline had left the city the night before, with 300 of his followers, and his partisans at Rome endeavored to diffuse the opinion that Cicero had treated Catiline too severely, and that the latter had gone into voluntary exile to Massilia, in order not to disturb the public peace. Cicero refutes this belief, which was intended to rouse the people's sympathy; he once more describes the greatness of the criminal plot, and expresses his firm conviction that Catiline was not going to Massilia, but to the camp of Manlius. He lastly calls upon the conspirators who had remained in the city, to quit Rome as speedily as their leader, if they were unable to retrace their evil steps. Several repetitions, and more especially the division of the friends of Catiline into six classes, render it highly probable that Cicero delivered this speech, like the first, extempore.

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### NOTES.

I.—1. *Tandem aliquando*; "At last then." — *Quirites*, "Romans." The Quirites originally were the inhabitants of *Cures*, a city of the Sabines, who were afterwards called *prisci Quirites*, to distinguish them from the Romans. After the Sabines and Romans had united themselves into one community under Romulus, the name of *Quirites* was taken in addition to that of *Romani* — the Romans calling themselves in a civil capacity *Quirites*, while in a political and military capacity they retained the name of *Romani*. Hence we find these names were immediately after combined, as *Populus Romanus Quiritium*, 'the Roman nation of Quirites.' See *And. Lex.* This accords with the account of Livy I. 13. *Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati.* Scil. the whole nation united. — 2. *Verbis prosecuti sumus*, "We have pursued with reproaches." — 3. *Abiit, &c.* Let the pupil

here note the climax, and give to each word its appropriate force. — 4. *Sine controversia*, “without doubt,” “undoubtedly.” — 5. *Sica illa versabitur*, &c., “That dagger (of his) will not now be employed,” &c. — This dagger was mentioned before, I. Or. Ch. VI., hence the word *illa* here used. Had Catiline been present and addressed, it would have been *ista*, as there. — 6. *Loco ille motus est*, “He was moved from his place” (his vantage ground, his place of greatest strength): — *bellum justum*, “a regular warfare,” opposed to *latrocinium*. — 7. *Quod vero*, &c. These clauses properly depend on the last clause, *quanto*, &c., which in grammatical order should be translated first, and *quod* rendered “because.” The effect, however, is better by keeping the order of the text, and the connection will be preserved by translating *quod* “seeing that.” — 8. *Perculsum atque abjectum esse*, “That he is ruined and degraded,” “cast off:” — “a stricken and worthless thing.” Anth. — 9. *Retorquet oculos*, “turns back his eyes” (like a wolf driven from his prey).

II.—1. *Talis* — *qui accuset*. To this the following clause, *quales esse omnes oportebat*, is parenthetical, and in translating should be so arranged as not to separate *talis* and *qui accuset*. B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. The whole may be rendered, “But if any one (as it was proper for all to be, i. e., as all might have been) is so disposed as to censure me severely in that very thing,” &c. The clause *quod tam capitale*, &c., is in apposition with *ipso* and explains it. — 2. *Non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum*. Observe the force of *ista*. B. § 28, Obs. 3. 3d, and § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 23. The opposition here is between *mea* = *mei* (Gen.), B. § 30, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 36, and *temporum*, lit., “is the fault not of me but of the times.” This connection of the possessive pronoun and the genitive case frequently occurs. — 3. *Sed quam multos*, &c., “But how many do you suppose there were who would have believed the charges which I might have brought against him?” The imperfect subjunctive is here to be rendered as the pluperfect. B. § 44, ii. 2.—A. & S. § 260, Rem. 3. — 4. *Propter stultitiam non putarent*, “From their simplicity (want of judgment) could not have imagined (such things):” — *propter improbitatem*, “from their utter worthlessness.” — 5. *Ac, si—judicarem*, “And yet, if I had thought.” See Note 3: — *sustulissem*, “would have put to death:” — *periculo*, “at the risk.” — 6. *Sed quann viderem*, &c. In this sentence the object of *viderem* is *fore, ut*, &c., down to *possem*, B. § 116, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 229, Rem. 5; and the clause, *ut* — *possem*, being properly the subject of *fore*, is to be considered as the accusative, B. § 145. 1 and Obs.

5, 4th: — *re etiam tum ne quidem probata*, “the affair (i. e., the existence of the conspiracy) at that time not even having been examined into by all of you.” — 7. *Quem quidem ego*, &c. Here again the whole clause *quem* — *putem* is the object of *intelligatis*, and *quem hostem*, “that this enemy,” § 99, Obs. 8, is the subject of *esse*; and the clause *quem* — *timendum*, is the object of *putem*. “How much I think even this enemy is to be feared abroad, you may clearly understand from this:” — *parum comitatus*, “slightly attended.” Sallust says, *cum paucis*; other writers mention 300 companions. — 8. *Tongilium mihi eduxit*, “He took with him my Tongilius.” This is keen irony. Tongilius was an infamous character, and the intimate friend of Catiline. For the peculiar use of the dative *mihi* here see B. § 109. 3.—A. & S. § 228, Note, with reference: — *in prætexta*, “in his youth.” The toga prætexta was worn by youth under 17 years of age. — *Publicium et Munatium* (scil. *eduxit*). — 9. *Æs alienum*, “Debt,” lit. “money not one’s own:” — *in popina*, “in a tavern;” — *popina* is a tavern, or eating-house, the resort of gluttonous and intemperate persons.—Persons contracting petty debts in such places were already infamous, and their influence of little consequence. But many of those left behind in the city, though overwhelmed with debt, were men of very different character and much more to be dreaded. To these Cicero refers when he adds *reliquit quos viros!*

III.—1. *Et Gallicanis legionibus* (the ablative of *cause*), “Both on account of our Gallic legions,” i. e., the Roman legions stationed in Gaul. — *Ager Picenus* is the country south of the Po—the *Ager Gallicus Cispadanus*. — 2. *Quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur*, lit. “Which are daily getting ready by us;” better, “Which we are daily getting ready.” For want of a proper present passive in some verbs in English, it is often better, as here, to use the active form in order to express the meaning correctly. See Analytical Eng. Gram. 509—511. — 3. *Agresti luxuria = rusticis luxuriosis*, “Debauched rustics:” — *rusticis decoctoribus*, “rustic bankrupts,” i. e., “bankrupt farmers:” — *vadimonia deserere*, “to desert their bail,” i. e., “forfeit their recognizances” by failing to appear in court. Such were held infamous, and the creditor had the right, forthwith, to take possession of the debtor’s property. — 4. *Acicm exercitus nostri*, “The array of our army.” — 5. *Qui fulgent purpura*, “Who shine in purple,” viz. senators, whose tunie was faced with a broad purple border (*latus clavus*). Of these, eleven were implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline. — *Suos milites*, “as his soldiers,” in a sort of apposition with *hos*. B. § 97, Explan. — 6. *Qui si*, “If

these." B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 7. *Hoc*, "On this account:" — *quod, quid, &c.*, arrange thus: *quod sentiunt me scire quid cogitent*. B. § 140. 5. — A. & S. § 265. — 8. *Video; video* has for its object the following clauses; the verbs are in the subjunctive by § 140. 5, as preceding note. The persons referred to, are mentioned by Sallust Cat. 27. — 9. *Superioris noctis*, i. e. "The night of 6th Nov.," on which the conspirators met in the house of Læca, now, the last night but two.

II.—1. *Nisi vero si quis est*, "Unless, indeed, there be any one," ironical, as much as to say, a thing impossible! — *qui putet (eos) Catilinae* (gen. B. § 111. Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 222. Rem. 2.) *similes, non cum Catilina sentire*, "who supposes that those (who are) like Catiline, do not agree with Catiline." — 2. *Exeant* (scil. *Catilinae similes—conjurati*):—*desiderio sui*, "with regret for the want of them," or briefly, "for the want of them." — 3. *Aurelia via*, "By the Aurelian way;" this led to the north—to Etruria, where Manlius had his camp. — 4. *Hanc sentinam*, "This refuse," "this rabble." — *exhausto*, lit. "being drained off," i. e. "being removed." — 5. *Testamentorum subjector*, "Forger of wills," scil. one who substitutes a false will for a genuine one. Sallust says: (Cat. 16) *signator falsus*: — *circumscriptor*, "cheat." — *ganeo*, "debauchee:" — *nepos*, "prodigal;" probably because boys brought up by their grand-parents, usually turned out to be licentious and extravagant young men: — *fateatur*, B. § 141, Rule i.—A. & S. § 264. 6. — 6. *Quæ cædes*, "What murder." — 7. *Jam vero*, "Nay, too?" — *quæ tanta juventutis illecebra*, "what so great faculty for enticing youth." Compare I. Or. in Cat. VI. Note 8. — 8. *Aliis*, "To some:" — *aliis* (B. § 98, Obs. 12.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 32.) *mortem parentum, &c.*, "to others, the death of their parents," (by which they might come into the possession of their property) "not only by inciting them (to murder them), but even by assisting them in it."

V.—1. *Diversa studia in dissimili ratione*, "The opposite propensities of the man, in a different way of life:" see Or. pro Cælio, V. & VI. — 2. *In ludo gladiatorio*, "In a gladiator school:" — *in scena*, "on the stage:" — *levior et nequior*, "more trifling and worthless (than another.)" In Rome, gladiators and stage-players were held in very low repute, and as persons with whom it was degrading to associate. — 3. *Atque idem tamen, stuprorum, &c.*, "And yet this man, accustomed to the practice of debauchery and wickedness, was lauded as brave, by these worthless men" (*istis*, B. § 28, Obs. 3. 3d at the end.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 25.), &c. Here *perferendis* belongs to *frigore, &c.*, as well as to *vigiliis*.

B. § 98, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 2 Exc. — *assuefacio* is construed with the ablative, the dative, or the accusative with *ad*. — 4. *Quum industriæ subsidia*, &c., “Even when the aids of honest industry, and the means of virtue.” By the former is meant, his power of enduring cold and hunger, &c., just mentioned, which might have enabled him to pursue successfully a life of useful activity; by the latter is meant, those advantages of talents, rank, and position, which, properly directed, might have resulted in praiseworthy conduct. — 5. *Sui comites*, “His companions,” viz. those who still remained in Rome. — 6. *Hominum libidines*, “the lusts of these men:” — *audaciæ*, “their daring excesses,” lit. “their audacities.” — 7. *Res*, “their means:” — *fides*, “their credit:” — *in abundantia*, “in (the times of) their abundance.” — 8. *Quod si in vino et alea*, &c., “But if in their wine and at their dice (i. e. their drinking and gambling) they sought only their nocturnal revellings:” — *ebriosos*, “the intemperate.” *Ebrius* means “drunk;” *ebriosus*, “given to drunkenness:” — *dormientes*, “the drowsy.” — 9. *Qui mihi accubantes*, &c., “Who, reclining at their feasts,” alluding to the way in which the Romans sat or rather reclined at their repasts, viz. in a reclining position, supporting themselves on their left elbow, with their feet stretched out behind them on the *triclinium*:—*mihi*, here, as in Ch. II. above (see Note 8), is redundant; but as it conveys the idea, that this is a course of which he approved, it is clearly ironical, and expresses supreme contempt. — 10. *Conferti cibo*, “Overloaded with food:” — *sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti* (not *obliti*). The Romans, at their feasts, adorned themselves with wreaths of flowers (myrtle, ivy, lilies, roses), partly on account of their fragrance, partly on account of their supposed virtue to prevent intoxication. They also made a liberal use of perfumes for the hair, in the form of ointments. — 11. *Quibus*, “Over these.” B. § 99, Obs. 8:—*aliquod fatum*, “some dreadful fate:” — *quos*, “these men.” — 12. *Nescio quod*, “Some,” lit. “I know not what.” — *propagarit* (for *propagaverit*, B. § 79, 1, 1st.—A. & S. § 162. 7.) — *rei publicæ*, “it will add to the republic:” — *possit*, B. § 141, Rule i.—A. & S. § 264. 7. — 13. *Unius virtute*, “By the valor of one,” namely, Pompey, who had recently brought to a close the war against Mithridates. — 14. *Excant*, &c., “Let them depart, &c.” These subjunctives are used imperatively (§ 42, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 260, Rem. 6) depending on *necesse est ut*, or some such expression understood.

VI.—1. *Sunt qui dicant*. For this phrase see B. § 141, Rule i.—A. & S. § 264. 6. — *istos ipsos*, “those very men.” *Istos* is used to express contempt. — 2. *Homo videlicet*, “The man forsooth.” This whole sentence

is irony. — 3. *Quo*, "There," same construction as the relative, B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 4. *Principes ejus ordinis*, "The first men of that order," viz. the Senate. Cicero is now addressing the people, hence *ejus*. Had he been addressing the Senate he would have said *hujus ordinis*. — 5. *Quasivi a Catilina*. See I. Or. in Cat. IV. — 6. *Ea nocte*, viz. at the house of M. Læca. November. 6. — *proxima (nocte)* "on the next night," viz., 7th Nov. — *ratio*, "the plan." — 7. *Quum teneretur* "When he was speechless," lit. "was held from speaking," caught, convicted by the force of evidence, so that he could not utter a word of denial or defence. — 8. *Quum secures scirem esse (præmissas)*, a similar supplement is to be made after *quum* in each clause. The *fasces* was a bundle of rods in the centre of which an axe (*securis*) was placed. This was carried by the lictors before the consul as the badge of supreme authority — of consular power, which it appears Catiline intended to assume. — 9. *Aquilam illam argenteam*. See I. Or. in Cat. IX. 13. — 10. *Ejicibatam*, &c., "Did I attempt to drive into exile." By the charge here referred to, the friends of Catiline attempted to excite sympathy for him, and odium against Cicero. See above. For this use of the imperfect indicative see B. § 44. ii. 2 and Gr. Gr. § 76. ü. Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 145, ii. 4. — 11. *Etenim, credo, Manlius*, "For Manlius, I suppose:" — *iste centurio*, "that obscure centurion:" this is spoken in contempt; the whole sentence is keen irony. — 12. *Massiliam*, "To Massilia," (the acc. of the place whither) a city in Gallia Narbonensis (now Marseilles), first settled by a colony from Phocæa in Asia Minor. Being independent, and not subject to the civil law of Rome, many exiled persons chose this as the place of their residence; and Catiline, to mislead the Roman people, gave out that he had gone thither. Sall. Cat. 34.

VII.—1. *Periculis meis*, "By my dangerous measures." — 2. *Belli faciundi*. B. § 147, Rule lxii.—A. & S. § 275, ii. So, *levanda invidia*, below. — 3. *Spoliatus armis audaciæ*, "Stripped of the arms of his audacity," i. e., deprived of the means of carrying into effect his audacious designs: for *armis*, see B. § 126, Rule v.—A. & S. § 251: — *indemnatus*, "condemned without trial" According to the laws of the Twelve Tables, a Roman citizen could not be exiled without a judicial verdict. — 4. *Et erunt qui velint*, "And some will wish;" see above VI. 1. *Si hoc fecerit* is parenthetical. — 5. *Est mihi tanti*, "I esteem it a light thing." I. Or. in Cat. IX. 5. B. § 123. R. xxviii. Expl.—A. & S. § 252, Rem. 1: — *subire*, &c.; this infinitive with its clause is the proper subject of *est*. — 6. *Dicatur*, "Let him be said," the subjunctive used imperatively, B. § 42, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 260, Rem. 6: — *causa*, "for the sake:" — *ducere*, &c., "is leading a



hostile army, and is flying to and fro." — 7. *Ne mihi sit invidiosum*, "that it may be a ground of great censure against me." (B. § 140, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 262. Rem. 7.): — *quod*, "that, &c." This clause is the proper subject of *sit*. — 8. *Quum profectus sit*, "Since (now that) he has gone forth." Observe the antithesis between *profectus* and *interfectus*. — 9. *Quamquam isti*, &c. Observe here again the contempt expressed by *isti* and *istorum*, applied to these persons because they were the secret friends of Catiline; and the enemies of their country: — *dicuntur*, "are ever repeating," a double frequentative: — *verentur*, scil.; because by his going into exile their common designs would be frustrated. — 10. *Tam misericors*, "So moved with compassion for him:" — *qui non malit*, "as not to wish rather," B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1: — *malit* = *magis velit*; thus separated, arrange *magis* before *quam*. So with *mallet* = *magis vellet*. — 11. *Hoc quod agit*, "Of this which he is now doing," viz., making war against his country. — 12. *Præter*, "Beside," i. e., "contrary to:" — *nobis vivis*, "I being alive," scil. his schemes for accomplishing my death having failed, B. § 146, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 257, Rem. 7, by enallage for *me vivo*, B. § 150. 3.—A. & S. § 323. 3.

VIII.—1. *Et ipsos placare*, "And to reconcile them." — 2. *Istæ copie*, &c., "These miserable forces are made up." Six classes of men are described in this and the two following sections, from which the troops of Catiline were taken. — 3. *Deinde singulis*, "Then to each" (of these classes), one by one: — *consilii*, &c., "of my advice and exhortation." — *Si quam potero*, = *si quam* (indef.) *medicinam afferre potero*. — 4. *Magno in aere alieno*, "(Involved) in great debt:" — *possessionses*, "estates." These men have estates of more value than the amount of their debts, and yet, so great is their attachment to them, that — *dissolvi nullo modo possunt*,—"they can in no way be separated from them," i. e., they will not sell them, nor any part of them, to pay their debts; and hence to get rid of these they join the fortunes of Catiline, who had promised them (*novas tabulas*) "an abolition of debts." — 5. *Species est honestissima*, "The outward appearance is highly respectable." They take a high standing in society, appear to be rich, and live in great style: — *voluntas*, &c., "their intention, and cause, the most shameless." They were secretly plotting the ruin of their country. With this class, personified as one individual, he thus remonstrates: — 6. *Tu ornatus et copiosus sis?* "Are you provided with, and do you abound in?" &c.: — *detrahere*, "to take from," i. e., "to sell part of:" — *acquirere ad fidem*, "in order to add to your credit." — 7. *Sacrosanctas*, "Inviolable." — 8. *An novas tabulas (expectas)?*

“Do you look for new tablets?” i. e., new registers of debts. To persons deeply involved in debt, which they were unable to pay, sometimes by a *senatus consultum*, or by a verdict of the prætor, new registers were granted by which their debts were reduced, or even completely cancelled. This Catiline promised his followers. Sall. Cat. 21. — 9. *Meo beneficio*, &c., “By my kindness new registers will be brought forward, but they will be—(*tabulæ auctionariæ*)—registers of property to be sold at auction.” Here there is a play on the words *novæ tabulæ*. Cicero would indeed bring about a cancelling of their debts; but it would be in the honorable way of selling the property of debtors at auction, and applying the proceeds to pay off their debts: for, said he, *neque isti qui*, &c., “those who have possessions can be safe (preserved from ruin) in no other way.” — 10. *Quod*, “This:” — *neque certare*, &c., “and not to struggle with payments of interest from the income of their estates.” — The revenue of their estates being nearly, if not wholly necessary to pay the interest on their debts, these must every day be increasing, and their means of paying them becoming less—a process which must end in ruin: — *uteremur*, &c., “we would now have these both wealthier and better citizens.”

IX.—1. *Dominationem*, “Dominion,” “rule,” i. e., they hope to become consuls, dictators, or even kings. See below. Also Sall. Cat. 21: — *rerum (publicarum) potiri*, “to get possession of the government.” B. § 121, Exc. 2.—A. & S. § 220. 4. — 2. *Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur*, “To these, it seems right that this advice should be given.” — 3. *Præsentibus*, “In person,” “by prompt interposition,” “quickly.” — 4. *Num illi sperant*: — *quæ*, (things) “which,” referring to *cinere urbis*, and *sanguine civium*. — 5. *Fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi necesse sit*, “It may be necessary for them to submit (yield the precedence) to some fugitive or gladiator” (like Catiline), *concedi*, lit. “that it should be yielded by them.” — 6. *Ætate jam affectum*, “Already advanced in years,” lit. “affected with age.” — 7. *Ex iis coloniis quas Sulla, &c.* The dictator Sulla had rewarded his soldiers by establishing whole legions in Italian towns, such as Fæsulæ, Capua, and others, whose citizens were obliged to give up their property to the soldiers. These were the military colonies of Sulla, of which there were twenty-three. The soldiers, who thus became suddenly rich, usually squandered their property in a very short time, and hence were anxious for another civil war in which to enrich themselves anew. — 8. *Quas ego universas esse*, &c., “These as a whole (i. e., taken collectively) I know belong to.” — 9. *Sumptuosius insolentiusque*, &c., “Have made a display in a manner

too expensive and extravagant." B. § 120, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 256, Rem. 9: — *tamquam beati*, "as if they were rich:" — *salvi*, "safe," i. e., "preserved from ruin." — 10. *Rapinarum veterum*, viz. Such as had been committed during the establishment of these colonies under Sulla. See Note 7, above. — 11. *Quos*, "Whom," viz. the rusties influenced by these men. — 12. *Proscriptiones*, &c., During the proscription instituted by Sulla, B. C. 82, it is estimated that 4,700 persons were proscribed and their property seized by his followers: — *tantus dolor*, "so painful a feeling."

X.—1. *Qui jam pridem premuntur (malis)*, &c., "Who have now for a long time been pressed down by misfortunes,"—"who will never emerge (from them):" — *vacillant*, "stagger." — 2. *Qui vadimonis, judicis*, &c., "Who, being wearied out with giving bail," &c. When a surety, or the debtor himself, did not appear when summoned by the creditor, a verdict (*judicium*) was pronounced against him, by which the creditor was authorized to take possession of the debtor's property. If the debtor did not make his appearance within thirty days, his property was proscribed and sold by auction. — 3. *Infitiatores lentos*, "Bad debtors," lit. "dilatatory and lying debtors." — 4. *Qui homines, primum, si stare*, &c., "First of all, if these men cannot stand, let them fall," "break down," "go to ruin." — 5. *Si vivere non possunt*, &c. Observe here the antithesis between *vivere* and *perire*, *honeste* and *turpiter*, *cum multis* and *soli*. — 6. *Postremum autem genus est (postremum)*, &c., "But the last class is the last (i. e. lowest) not only in number, but also in their origin and mode of life:" — *quod proprium est Catilinæ*, "and this is Catiline's own:" — *de complexu ejus ac sinu*, "his bosom friends," lit. "of his embrace and bosom:" — *bene barbato*, "with long downy beards." The custom of shaving the beard was introduced at Rome, B. C. 300 years, by a Sicilian barber. The beard was shaven for the first time usually about the age of twenty-one, but by some earlier, and by some a little later. Hence young men with a long down (*lanugo*) were called *juvenes barbatuli*, or *bene barbati*. *Ad Rom. Antiq.* — 7. *Velis amictos*, "Clothed with veils," i. e., with wide thin dresses more like veils than togas: — *in antelucanis ecenis*, "in suppers protracted till daybreak." — 8. *Versantur*, "Mingle together." — 9. *Qui nisi exeunt*, "Unless these go forth:" — *Seminarium Catilinarium*, "a nursery of Catilines." — 10. *Apenninum (scilicet montem)*, "The Apennine range." — 11. *Nudi in convivis saltare*. Dancing was esteemed degrading to a freeborn Roman, much more, dancing in the manner here mentioned, *nudi*.

**XI.—1.** *Sit habiturus*, “Is to have.” B. § 140, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 263. 5. — *scortorum cohortem pratoriam*, “A body guard of infamous wretches.” This language is expressive of the greatest contempt. — **2.** *Naufragorum*, “Of ruined men,”—men wrecked in fortune, character, and hopes. — **3.** *Urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum*, &c., “Our colonial and municipal towns,” = *urbes, scilicet, colonie ac municipia*, lit. “our cities, namely, our colonies and free towns.” The genitives here do not limit, but are explanatory of *urbes*, or, in a sort of apposition with it. B. § 97, Exc. 1.—A. & S. 204, Rem. 6. Colonies were settlements of Roman citizens for agriculture or commerce, made with the consent of the state, and under its laws and protection. When the dwellings were collected together and surrounded with a wall they were called *urbes*. The *municipia* were towns, particularly in Italy, which possessed the right of Roman citizenship, and in most cases the right of voting, but were governed by their own laws. — **4.** *Respondebunt*, “Will give an answer to,” i. e., “will be a match for:” — *tumulis silvestribus*, “the rude defences” (or “ambuscades”), lit. “the woody hills,” viz. to which Catiline proposed to betake himself as a fit place for carrying on a harassing and predatory warfare. There is here an antithesis between *urbes* and *tumulis* which is lost by substituting *cumulis*. Here there is a contrast of the defences, as there is before, of the troops of the two parties. — **5.** *Ornamenta*, “Equipments:” — *conferre*, “compare.” — **6.** *Quibus nos suppeditamur*, “With which we are supplied.” — **7.** *Contendere*, “To compare:” — *quam valde illi jaccant*, “how very low they lie,” “to what an abject condition they are reduced.” — **8.** *Ex hac parte*, “On this side” (expressed in the rest of the sentence by *hinc*), to which is opposed—*illinc*, “on that side:” — *continentia*, “moderation:” — *libido*, “licentiousness:” — *copie*, “abundant resources.” In military language this word in the plural commonly means *men, troops*: — *bona ratio*, “sound judgment:” — *perdita (ratione)*, “folly,” lit. “lost reason.” — **9.** *Hominum studia*, “The efforts of men.”

**XII.—1.** *Mihi consultum ac provisum est*, &c., “Measures have been taken, and means provided by me:” — *ut urbi satis esset presidii*, “that there should be sufficient protection for the city,” i. e., for the perfect safety of the city (as a whole). *Satis presidii* here is a substantive phrase, and as such the subject of *esset*. In such expressions *satis* may be taken adjectively, and govern the genitive under B. § 106. R. viii —A. & S. § 212, Rem. 3. — **2.** *Nocturna excursione*. Catiline left the city on the previous night with 300 followers. Sall. Cat. 32. — **3.** *Gla-*

*diatores quam ille putavit fore*, &c., "The gladiators who he thought would be," &c. Here, though *quam* refers to *gladiatores* as its antecedent, it agrees with *manum* in its own clause. B. § 99, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 206 (8): — *meliore animo sunt*, "they are better disposed." B. § 106, R. vii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 6, or § 245. iii. The gladiators, in order to be made harmless, were sent by Catiline to Capua and other *municipia*. Sall. Cat. 30 ad fin. — 4. *Hominem* (viz. Catiline), used instead of *virum* to express contempt. — 5. *Nunc (quod attinet ad) illos*, "Now as to those." This is in imitation of a common Greek construction (Gr. Gr. § 150, Obs. 7.). *Illos*, an important word, is here placed at the beginning of the sentence, and again brought back in its place by *cos*: — *monitos (esse) eos*, &c., "again and again I wish these to be warned." — 6. *Solutior*, "Too remiss:" — *hoc exspectavit*, "it (viz. *lenitas mea*) was waiting for this," viz. *ut*, &c. — 7. *Quod reliquum est*, "As to what remains." *Quod* has *id* for its antecedent in the same construction as *illos* above, Note 5. — 8. *Qui vero in urbe*, &c., i. e., *is qui* = *quicumque*, "He who" (or "whoever"). Here *is*, the antecedent to *qui*, is the subject of *sentiet*.

XIII.—1. *Me uno togato duce et imperatore*, "I alone in the garb of peace (viz. the *toga*) being your leader and general," i. e., this conspiracy would be quelled without his quitting Rome as consul at the head of an army. The consuls, before setting out on any military expedition, used to put off the *toga* and put on the military cloak (*sagum*), and this was sometimes done with much ceremony, and with sacrifices. But Cicero assures them it would not be necessary for him on the present occasion to assume the garb of war. — 2. *Quod*, "And this." B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 3. *Significationibus* (= *prodigiis, ominibus*), "Intimations," "signs:" — *quibus ducibus*, "who (viz. the gods) being my leaders," i. e., "under whose guidance." — 4. *Qui*, "And they," Note 2: — *sed hic presentes suo numine*, &c., "but here, as present, by their power and help." *Præsentes* is here contrasted with *procul*. — 5. *Quos*, "And these," as before.

## THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE third speech was delivered before the assembled people, towards the evening of the 3d of December, 24 days after the preceding. Catiline was then in the camp of Manlius, surrounded by all the signs of the consular dignity; and it was now quite evident that the insurrection would soon break out openly. The Senators had put on mourning; Catiline and Manlius had been declared public enemies; the consul Antonius and Quintus Metellus Celer advanced with an armed force to the north of Etruria, when, unexpectedly, Cicero made a new discovery. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, and C. Cornelius Cethegus, the leaders of the conspirators at Rome, had fixed upon the 17th of December, the festival of the Saturnalia, for murdering Cicero and other senators, and for setting Rome on fire. Lentulus had endeavored to draw some Allobrogian ambassadors, who happened to be staying at Rome, into the conspiracy; and they seemed at first quite willing to enter into the scheme, but communicated the secret to their patron, Q. Fabius Sanga, who immediately revealed the whole to Cicero. Sanga was now obliged to persuade the ambassadors to induce the conspirators to give them letters to their associates in Etruria. When they were departing with their letters to Catiline and Manlius, Cicero ordered them to be arrested as they were crossing on the Mulvian bridge, and to be brought to Rome, with their documents.—He then summoned the heads of the conspiracy, Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Statilius, before they knew of the arrest of the Allobrogian ambassadors, or suspected that their plans were discovered, and obliged them to make a full confession of their intended crime. Thereupon they were given into custody to separate individuals, who became responsible for them; and the senate decreed a public thanksgiving to the gods in honor of Cicero. When the meeting of the senate broke up, Cicero immediately announced the new discovery to the people, who were anxiously waiting to know the issue; they loudly expressed their obligation and gratitude to their watchful consul, and accompanied him home, as it were in a triumphal procession.

## NOTES.

**I.—1.** *Quirites*. See II. Or. in Cat. I. 1. — *bona*, “goods:” — *hoc domicilium*, scil. *Roman*: — *urbem*, in apposition with *domicilium*. — **2.** *Hodierno die*, “This day,” viz. 3d Dec. The event referred to as so important, was the discovery made by the arrest of the Allobrogian ambassadors. — **3.** *Quibus conservamur*, “On which we are saved (from some imminent danger):” — *salutis letitia*, “the joy arising from deliverance:” — *sine sensu*, “without consciousness:” — *cum voluptate*, “with conscious delight.” — **4.** *Illum*, scil. *Romulum*: — *benevolentia fama*que, “by our favorable regard and by tradition.” — **5.** *Conditam*, “already built”—“after it was built.” — **6.** *Delubris*, “shrines.” The shrine properly was a part of the temple where the statue of the god was set up. — **7.** *Idemque*, “And at the same time.” To give the force of *idem* it has often to be translated, *also, likewise, at the same time*. — **8.** *Quæ quoniam*, “And since these things.” B. § 99, Obs. 8. — **9.** *Ex actis*, “From the things already done,” (viz. on the part of the senate and of himself, which he now goes on to relate): — *ut*, “ever since.”

**II.—1.** *Ejiciebam*, “I was trying to drive out.” B. § 44. ii. 2.—A. & S. § 145, ii. 4. — *verbi*, scil. *ejiciebam*; *illa* (scil. *invidia*). — **2.** *Sed tum=tum, inquam*: — *sed*, taking up the narrative interrupted by the parenthesis, — *exterminari*, “to be driven from the city:” — *infirmos ac debiles*, “irresolute and weak.” — **3.** *In eo,—ut sentirem*, “In this business, that,” &c. — **4.** *Ut quoniam*, &c., arrange, *ut comprehenderem rem ita ut*, &c. From *quoniam* to *mea* is parenthetical, and is to be translated where it is: — *minorem fidem faecret*, “gained too little credit.” B. § 120. Obs. 5, *ad fin.*—A. & S. § 256, Rem. 9. — **5.** *Ut comperi*, “When I found out,” namely, through Q. Fabius Sanga. Sall. Cat. 41. — **6.** *Allobrogum*, “Of the Allobroges.” The Allobroges were a Gallic tribe between the Alps, the Rhone, and the lake of Geneva. Their ambassadors had come to Rome to complain of the oppression and rapacity of their rulers. Sall. Cat. 40: — *a P. Lentulo*, Publius Lentulus, prætor under Cicero, was a wicked and ambitious man: — *ad suos cives*, “to their fellow-citizens”—“to the people of their country:” — *eodemque itinere*, “and in the same journey,” i. e., “on their way home.” Etruria, where Catiline now was, was in their way to their own country, and in passing, they were to deliver to Catiline the letters and dispatches with which they were intrusted.—*Litteræ* properly means written, and *mandata*, oral communica-

tions. Sall. Cat. 44. *Ad hoc mandata verbis dat.* — 7. *Qui*, "Seeing that they." B. § 141. Rule iii. with expl.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — 8. *Ad pontem Mulvium*, "To the Mulvian bridge." This bridge was over the Tiber, three miles above Rome, and by this the Allobroges behoved to pass, in their way to Etruria. — 9. *Ex prefectura Reatina*, "From the prefecture (or town) of Reate." *Prefecturae* were towns entirely dependent on Rome. They were governed by a Roman prætor or præfect, and did not enjoy the rights of colonies or *municipia*. The people of Reate were clients of Cicero: — *præsidio* scil. *illi*, "for, or, as a guard" (to him). B. § 114, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 227, Rem. 2. — 10. *Tertia fere vigilia exacta*, near the end of the third watch, i. e., a little before three o'clock in the morning. The Romans divided the night, from sunset till sunrise, into four watches of three hours each.

III.—1. *Litteræ quæcunque*, "All the letters which." B. § 99, Obs. 7. A. & S. § 207. Rem. 29. — 2. *Integrîs signis*, "with the seals unbroken." The Romans, in the time of Cicero, divided their letters, if long, into pages, folded them in the form of a little book, tied them round with a thread, covered the knot with wax, or a kind of chalk, and sealed it with the signet ring, which was usually worn on the left hand. Sometimes they were written on tablets (*tabellæ*) covered with wax and secured in the same way. For the form of these letters, see below, V., at Note 10. — 3. *Ipsi*, "They themselves," i. e., the Allobrogian ambassadors and those who accompanied them. — 4. *Gabinium*, &c. Of the persons here mentioned Gabinus and Statilius were of equestrian rank,—Lentulus and Cethegus of the rank of Senators. Sall. Cat. 17. Respecting Cethegus, Sallust says: *Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.* Lentulus was consul B. C. 71. In Cicero's consulship he was prætor. Sall. Cat. 55. — 5. *Nihil dum suspicantem*, "As yet suspecting nothing." The whole matter of the arrest was conducted so quietly, that these persons knew nothing of it, till they came before Cicero. — 6. *Credo*, "I suppose:" — *præter consuetudinem*, "contrary to his custom." — 7. *Proxima nocte*, "The last night." *Proxima nocte* by itself, means the night either before or after the present day, i. e., the last night, or the next night; and which it is, can be determined only from the context. See Or. II. Ch. VI. Note 6. — 8. *Viris*, dative, dependent on *placeret*: — *si nihil (in illis scil. literis) esset inventum*: — *injectus (esse) civitati*, "to have been excited in (lit. thrown upon) the state." — 9. *Negavi (= dixi non) me esse facturum (ita) ut, &c.*, "I said that I would not act (in such a way) that, &c." — 10. *Coegi—senatum frequentem*, "I convened a full Senate," namely, in the temple of Concord on the Palatine



hill. Sall. Cat. 49. — 11. *Qui* (= *ut ille*) *efferreret (tela)*, "To bring," "in order to bring forth (the weapons)." B. § 141. Obs. 2, 4th.—A. & S. § 264. 5.

IV.—1. *Gallis, i. e., legatis Allobrogum*: — *fidem ei publicam dedi*, "I pledged to him the public faith" (for his safety). — 2. *Ut servorum presidio uteretur*. See I. Or. in Cat. XI. Note 6. — 3. *Id autem, supple faceret*, "And that he should do that," namely, approach to the city. — 4. *Ex omnibus partibus*, "In all the parts." Sallust mentions it had been agreed to fire the city in twelve different places at the same time Cat. 43: — *qui=ut ille*. See above, Note 11: — *ducibus*, "leaders" (viz. of the conspiracy). Who these were is mentioned below. See also Sall. Cat. 43. — 5. *Jusjurandum*, "An oath," i. e., a written promise in the form of an oath. This was given by the conspirators to these legates to carry home with them, in order the better to induce the Allobrogians to assist Catiline, by getting up a Transalpine war. Sall. Cat. 44: — *ad suam gentem*, "to their people," i. e., the Allobroges: — *sibi*, "to them," i. e., the Allobrogian ambassadors just mentioned. — 6. *Sibi confirmasse*, "had assured them:" — *se esse tertium illum Cornelium*, "that he was that third Cornelian," viz. spoken of in the Sibylline oracles. — The Sibylline books were supposed to contain the fate of the empire. After the three books, purchased by Tarquin from the Erythrean Sibyl, had perished in the conflagration of the capitol, B. C. 83, ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls. From the verses thus collected the Quindecemviri made out new books, which were deposited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill. One of these oracles stated that "three K's (Lat. C's) should reign at Rome." This the Greeks interpreted of the Cappadocians, Cilicians, and Cretans; but the Romans applied them to three persons of the Cornelian gens. — 7. *Eundemque dixisse*, "And he (Lentulus) at the same time said." See above Ch. I. Note 7. — 8. *Fatalem*, "Destined by fate:" — *qui esset*, "since it was." B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — 9. *Absolutionem*, "Acquittal." Vestals were bound by a vow of chastity, the violating of which was regarded as a dreadful crime, betokening disaster to the empire, to expiate which the criminal, after trial, was put to death by being buried alive. The vestals here alluded to are supposed to be Marcia and Licinia, acquitted by L. Metellus, but afterwards tried by Cassius and condemned. — 10. *Post Capitolii incensionem*. This conflagration of the capitol is said to have been the result of carelessness on the part of the guards. Its restoration was completed by Norbanus, B. C. 78. — 11. *Saturnalibus*, "At the Saturnalia," the ablative of time when.—The Saturnalia was the most celebrated of the Roman

festivals; it began on the 17th of December, and lasted for several days. During its celebration the Romans, given up to joy, would think of any thing rather than a conspiracy, or the outbreaking of an insurrection; and for this reason it seemed to the conspirators a favorable opportunity for carrying their murderous designs into effect.

V.—1. *Ne longum sit*, “Not to be tedious,” lit. “that it may not be long:” — *tabellas = literas*, “the letters.” See above III. Note 1: — *cognovit*, “he acknowledged it” (to be his). — 2. *Sese, que, &c.*, “That he (Cethegus) would do the things which he had promised to their ambassadors.” This statement of what the letter contained is in oblique narration. In this style, the leading verbs are in the infinitive, with their subjects in the accusative, and the verbs of dependent clauses are in the subjunctive. B. § 141, Rule vi.—A. & S. § 266. 2: — *sibi recepissent*, “had promised to him.” This is a common meaning of *recipio* in Cicero, and the antithesis here requires *sibi* to be understood of Cethegus. — 3. *Apud ipsum*, lit. “With him,” i. e. “at his house:” *studiosum fuisse*, “was fond of,” “had a taste for.” — 4. *Clarissimi viri*. The grandfather of Lentulus was P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul b. c. 162: — *que*, scil. *imago*. — 5. *Leguntur literæ*, “The letter is read:” — *feci potestatem*, “I gave him the opportunity:” — *negavit*, “he declined:” — *surrexit*, “he arose,” namely, for the purpose of speaking, as was customary. — 6. *Quid sibi esset eum iis*, “What he ever had to do with them,” lit. “what was to him,” &c. This resembles the Greek construction. Gr. Gr. § 148, Obs. 5. — 7. *Qui quum*, “And when they,” scil. *Galli et Volturcius*. B. § 99, Obs. 8: — *per quem*, the person referred to was P. Umbrenus. Sall. Cat. 40. — 8. *Scelere demens*, “Bereft of judgment by a sense of guilt.” — 9. *Ita*, “To such a degree” (viz., as just mentioned): — *ingenium illud*, “that ability.” — 10. *Erant autem scriptæ*, “Now it was written.” This letter differs somewhat in form from that given by Sallust. Cat. 44; but the purport is the same: — *cura*, imperative of *curo*. — 11. *Quum primo*, “Although at first.” B. § 140, Obs. 3, ad fin.—A. & S. § 263. 5: — *insinulabant*, “alleged against him.” — 12. *Quum—tum*, “Not only—but also.” B. § 149, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 278, Rem. 7. — 13. *Sic enim obstupuerant*, “For they had been so confounded, and continued so to look on the ground.” Observe the change of tense: — *se ipsi = se ipsos*, B. § 98, Exc. 5.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 28.

VI.—1. *Indiciis*, “The proofs:” — *de summa re publica*, “for the safety of the commonwealth.” — 2. *A principibus*, “By the leading

men." The *principes* were those who, according to the usages of the senate, were called on first to give their opinion: — *sine ulla varietate*, "unanimously," "without any diversity of sentiment." — 3. *Non-dum perscriptum est*, "Is not yet written out;" or, as we would say; "engrossed." The decrees of the senate were usually engraved on brass. — 4. *Collega meo*. Cicero's colleague was C. Antonius, a man of dissolute habits, and who was at first favorable to Catiline, but was gained over by Cicero, who yielded to him the province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. He acted faithfully on the present occasion, and received credit for so doing. — 5. *Quum se prætura abdicasset*, "When he had resigned the prætorship." A magistrate could not be brought to trial while in office. He must first resign. — 6. *In custodiam* (not into prison, but), "Into free custody." See I. Or. in Cat., VIII., Note 2. — 7. *Procuracionem*, "The charge," "the management." — 8. *Erat indicatum*, "It appeared," "it was shown." — 9. *Erat . . . versatus*, "Had been engaged," "busily employed." — 10. *Libertinum hominem*, "The freedman." *Libertinus* means one who has been made free, but with respect to the person who made him free, he is called *libertus*; thus, *libertus Cæsaris*, means, "one made free by Cæsar." — 11. *Ea lenitate—ut arbitraretur*, "Such lenity as to think," lit., "that they thought." B. § 31, Obs. 2 ad fin, and § 140, l. 1st.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 1: — *novem*, "nine." Sallust mentions only five put to death, Cat. 55, and Cicero mentions the same number in his oration for Sulla, Ch. XI. — 12. *Supplicatio*, "A public thanksgiving:" — *togato*, see II. Or. in Cat., XIII. Note 1. — 13. *Que supplicatio si*, "If this thanksgiving." B. § 99, Obs. 8: — *hoc intersit*, "it will differ in this." The subjunctive used for the indicative *interest*, after the manner of the Greek optative, Gr. Gr. § 172, ii. 3d, to express an affirmation with modesty. A. & S. § 260, Rem. 4. — 14. *Atque*, "And so." — 15. *Ut, que religio, &c.* Arrange thus, *Ut in puniendo P. Lentulo, privato, nos liberaremur ea religione, quæ religio, &c.* B. § 99, Obs. 1. 3d.—A. & S. § 206, Rem. 19. (1): — *religio*, "a religious scruple:" — *quo minus—occideret*, "to prevent him from putting to death," B. § 45, ii. 3.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 9, lit., "that he should not put to death." The event here referred to, happened b. c. 100. It is represented differently here from the account given by Plutarch, according to whom C. Marius did not put Glauca to death with his own hand. On the contrary, he tried to save him, but failed.

VII.—1. *Captos et comprehensos*, "Seized and in custody." — 2. *Quem quidem quum ego pellebam*, "And truly when I was en-

deavoring to drive him." B. § 140, Obs. 3, and § 44, ii. 2.—A. & S. § 263, 5, and § 145, ii. 4. — 3. *Somnum*, "Drowsiness:" — *adipem*, "laziness." — 4. *Ille*, scil. *Catiline*. Compare this description of his character with that given by Sallust, Cat. 5. — 5. *Omnium aditus tenebat*, "He had liberty of access to all:" — *consilium*, "a judgment," "a power of planning." — 6. *Certas res*, "Particular things," i. e., "things determined on:" — *certos homines*, "trusty men:" — *ipse*, "in person," lit., "he himself." — 7. *In perditis rebus*, "In desperate affairs," i. e., "in a ruined cause." — 8. *Ex domesticis insidiis*, &c., "From treacherous plots at home" (i. e., in the city). Here, there is a double antithesis between *insidiis* and *latrocinium*—*domesticis* and *castrense*. — 9. *Nobis*, "For us," i. e., "for our destruction:" — *neque denuntiavisset*, "nor have named:" — *neque commisisset*, "nor have acted so." — 10. *Ut levissime dicam*, "To use the mildest expression."

VIII.—1. *Quamquam*, "Yet," "nevertheless." — 2. *Idque quum conjectura consequi possumus*, &c., "And this not only may we conjecture" (lit., "come to by conjecture"): — *quod vix videtur*, &c., "because it seems that the management (piloting) of so great affairs could scarcely have belonged to human wisdom." B. § 108, Rule xii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 8 (3). — *Videtur*, "It seems," commonly has a subject of its own, and therefore is not impersonal. Still it will generally be found best to translate it as impersonal in all persons, and its subject as the subject of the infinitive following; thus, *Videor esse*, "It seems that I am." *Videris esse*, "It seems that thou art." *Videtur esse*, "It seems that he is." *Videtur gubernatio potuisse*, &c., "It seems that the management could," &c.: — *tum vero*, "but also." B. § 149, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 278, Rem. 7: — *ita presentes*, "in so visible a manner," lit. "so much in sight." — 3. *Ut illa omittam*, "That I may pass by ("to say nothing of") those things," viz., which he goes on to mention. After *ut* in each succeeding clause supply *omittam*, but both may be omitted in translating. — 4. *Hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere*, "To announce these things which are now coming to pass." — 5. *De cælo*, "With lightning," lit., "from heaven." — 6. *Quem inauratum* — *parvum*, "A gilded image of whom when small" (i. e., when an infant). This statue was of bronze, gilded, representing the infant Romulus sucking the she-wolf. — 7. *Quo quidem tempore*, "At that very time." That was, B. c. 65, when Cotta and Torquatus were consuls,—two years previous to this. — 8. *Ex tota Etruria*. Etruria was the country from which the art of the *haruspices* had been introduced into Rome. — 9. *Omni*

*ratione placati*, "Being propitiated in every way:" — *suo numine*, "by their interposition." — **10.** *Ludi*. The gods were propitiated by games and contests. — **11.** *Majus*, "Larger" (than the former): — *contra atque ante fuerat*, "contrary to what it had been before." — **12.** *A superioribus consulibus*, viz., L. Julius Cæsar, and C. Marcius Figulus: — *nobis*, viz., himself and C. Antonius.

**IX.—1.** *Qui neget*, "As to deny." B. § 141, Rule ii.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — **2.** *Et ca*, "And that too." For completing the construction of *ea* here, supply *comparata sunt*, or the more general expression *facta sunt*. This corresponds to the Greek *καὶ ταῦτα*. Gr. Gr. § 133. 7. — **3.** *Illud vero*, &c., "But is not that fact so manifest;" *illud* refers to what follows beginning, *Ut quoniam hodierno*, &c., which may be arranged thus, *Ut signum statueretur, eo ipso tempore, quum*, &c. — **4.** *Atque ad vos senatumque converso*. The Capitoline hill lay west of the Forum. When this statue of Jupiter, then, was turned *ad orientem* (see above, Ch. VIII.), it was turned towards the forum, where the people were now met, and the temple of Concord, where the senate met a little before. The apparently accidental coincidence here mentioned, in all probability, was previously arranged by Cicero for effect, and the expected result was realized. — **5.** *Isti*, "Those wretches" (the conspirators). This word is often used to express contempt. — **6.** *Sumam* and *sim* here, like *intersit*, above, Ch. VI., are used potentially, to affirm with modesty. See Note 13, Ch. VI. — **7.** *Ille, ille Jupiter*, "That, that Jupiter," scil. pointing in the direction of the statue referred to. Compare I. Or. in Cat. V. Note 5. — **8.** *Hanc mentem suscepi*, "I have formed this design." — **9.** *Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio*, &c. This sentence is supposed to be corrupt. As it is, without conjectural amendments, which should never be resorted to without necessity, it may be rendered thus, "And furthermore, that tampering with the Allobroges, in such a manner by Lentulus and others—a matter of so great importance—never would have been intrusted (to men) both strangers and barbarians (scil. the ambassadors of the Allobroges), and certainly letters never would have been committed (into their hands) unless," &c. In this rendering, *tanta res* is in apposition with *sollicitatio*, &c., to characterize the transaction, and *nunquam esset* is supplied to *credita* from the following clause: — *consilium*, "prudence," "foresight." — **10.** *Quid vero?* "But why is it?" — *male pacata*, "not yet reduced to subjection:" — *et posse et non nolle*, "both able and willing," lit., "not unwilling:" — *ultra*, "without their asking:" — *suis opibus*, "to their own interests." — **11.** *Præsertim qui nos*, &c., "Especially since they

might have conquered us:” — *tacendo*, “by keeping silence,” viz., respecting the conspiracy.

X.—1. *Ad omnia pulvinaria*, “Before all the seats of the gods,” i. e., “in all the temples.” Couches covered with cushions (*pulvinaria*) were placed before the altars or special tables, and the statues of the gods were laid upon them, as if to take part in person in the feasts prepared for them: — *celebratote*, “celebrate,” viz., by processions of youth crowned with garlands, singing hymns in honor of the gods. — 2. *Togati*. See II. Or. in Cat., XIII. Note 1. — 3. *L. Sulla*, &c. At the time when Sulla was on the point of setting out against Mithridates, but was still at Nola in Campania, the tribune, P. Sulpicius, proposed to send Marius against Mithridates. Sulla then returned to Rome, Sulpicius was killed, and Marius fled to Africa, B. C. 88. — 4. *Cn. Octavius*, consul B. C. 87, expelled his colleague, Cornelius Cinna, from Rome; but in the year following, when Cinna and Marius who was recalled from Africa, had taken possession of the city, he was murdered while defending the Vatican. — 5. *Omnis hic locus*, viz., “The Forum.” — 6. *Redundavit*, &c., “Was filled with heaps of bodies and flowed.” Here *redundavit* is applied to *acervis*, but properly belongs only to *sanguine*. This in grammar is called *Zeuigma*. B. § 150, 1. 2d.—A. & S. § 323. 1 (2). — 7. *Ultus est*, viz., on his return from the Mithridatic war, B. C. 82. The number of those proscribed and slain was enormous. Florus says, it exceeded seventy thousand. — 8. *M. Lepidus*, consul, B. C. 78, was involved in a quarrel with his colleague Catulus, a partisan of Sulla, because he (Lepidus) wanted to abolish many of the enactments of Sulla, and refused to allow his body to be buried in the Campus Martius. Lepidus soon after died in Corsica, whither he fled. The following *ipsius* refers to Lepidus. — 9. *Atque ille dissensiones*, “Now these dissensions.” This part of the sentence is repeated below, after the parenthesis *non illi to voluerunt*, of which notice is given by *tamen*, equivalent in such cases to *inquam*. Compare above, II. Note 1: — *erant ejusmodi—que pertinerent*, “were such as tended. B. § 141, Rule ii. —A. & S. § 264. 1: — *ad commutandam*, “to change,” i. e., “to reform.” This smoothing over the atrocities of the wars of Sulla, in which 150,000 citizens perished, is designed to place in a stronger light the horrid character of this conspiracy: — *reconciliatione concordie*, “by the restoration of concord:” — *dijudicate sint*, “were settled.” — 10. *Quale bellum = bellum tale quale*. Idioms. 46, and B. § 99, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 206, Rem. 19 (16). This can be called *bellum*, only in intention and prospect, for it had not yet broken out: — *nulla barbaria*, “no barbarian country:” *barbaria*, subs. — 11. *Tantum urbis*, supply *superfuturum esse*.

**XI.—1.** *Quibus pro tantis rebus*, “For these so great services.” — **2.** *Ornamenta honoris*, “Badges of honor:” — *condi et collocari*, “To be treasured up and preserved.” Cicero seems to take pleasure in strengthening his expression by the use of two or more terms of nearly the same import. Examples abound every where; as here, *condi et collocari*, and below, *nihil mutum, nihil tacitum*, — *domicilium sedemque*. **3.** *Nihil mutum*. Such as a statue, a monument, &c.: — *nihil hujusmodi quod*, “nothing such as.” B. § 141, Rule ii.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — **4.** *Eandemque diem intelligo*, &c., “And this same day (i. e., the remembrance of it), which I hope will be eternal, I see preserved (handed down to posterity, viz., by being kept as a festival) both for the safety of the city, and for a memorial of my consulship.” — **5.** *Duos cives existisse*, “And that two citizens (of Rome) have existed,” viz., Pompey and himself. Cn. Pompey had at this time gained the most brilliant victories over Mithridates in the distant east, also over the pirates, the Syrians, &c.

**XII.—1.** *Quæ illorum (sit)*, “As is that of those.” B. § 141, Rule ii.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — **2.** *Illi*, “Those” (viz., the commanders who have carried on foreign wars). B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 23. — **3.** *Mentes*, “Designs:” — *ne mihi noceant*, “do not injure me;”—*ne = ut non*, and yet the subsequent exile of Cicero was actually the work of men who hated him, on account of his having discovered and suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline. — **4.** *Quamquam mihi quidem*, &c., “And yet, Romans, I myself indeed can now suffer no injury from these men.” B. § 113, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 209, Rem. 3 (6): — *istis*, applied to the conspirators, here denotes contempt. — **5.** *In bonis*, “In good men.” — **6.** *Quam qui negligent*, “And those who shall disregard this.” B. § 99, Obs. 8: — *se ipsi = se ipsos*, B. § 99, Exc. 5.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 28. — **7.** *Is animus*, “Such a spirit:” — *nobis*, the plural by enallage for the singular. — **8.** *Ultero semper lacessamus*, “Always of my own accord assail.” — **9.** *Mihi quidem ipsi*, &c., “As for me, indeed, what is there that can now be added to the enjoyment of my life?” — *Altius*, “higher” (viz., than what I have already attained): — *privatus*, “in private life.” Still, though in private life, i. e., not clothed with office, he would be *vir consularis*, and a member of the Roman senate. — **10.** *Virtute*, “From virtuous principle:” — *quonian jam nox est*. This speech was delivered towards evening. — **11.** *Illum Jovem (Statorum)*, “Yonder Jupiter (*Stator*),”—pointing to his temple, which was visible from every part of the city.

## FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE fourth Catilinarian oration was delivered in the senate on the 5th of December. A design had been formed to liberate, by main force, the criminals who had been arrested on the 3d: Cicero therefore summoned a meeting of the Senate on the 5th, and proposed the question as to what was to be done with the prisoners. According to established custom, Silanus, the consul elect, had the right to express his opinion first. His advice was to put the conspirators to death. After him many others expressed their concurrence in his opinion; but Julius Cæsar endeavored to show that perpetual banishment from Rome and captivity in the municipia was a more appropriate punishment. Cicero, without declaring for any particular mode of punishment, evidently inclines to the opinion of Silanus, in opposition to that of Cæsar, by asserting the power of the senate to pronounce the sentence of death, and at the same time describing the crime itself, and the intentions of the criminals, in so strong colors, that every one must have thought it precarious to allow such dangerous persons to escape with their lives. Cicero was strongly supported by Cato, who had been elected tribune of the people for the ensuing year, and his opinion was adopted by the majority of the senators.—The very night after these proceedings, the prisoners were strangled in their dungeon. The senate and people accompanied Cicero home, calling him the preserver of the Republic, and the father of his country. The honor and joy of that day (*Nonæ Decembres*) are often mentioned by Cicero in his subsequent speeches.

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### NOTES.

**1.—1.** *Patres conscripti*, “Senators;” originally perhaps *Patres et conscripti*. See I. Or. in Cat. II. Note 8. The senate was now convened in the temple of Jupiter Stator. — **2.** *Ora atque oculos*, “The countenance and the eyes;” see above III. Or. in Cat. XI. Note 2. — **3.** *Vestro ac rei publicæ*. The possessive pronoun, in any case, being equivalent to the



genitive of the personal, is often, as here, connected with nouns in the genitive. B. § 31. Obs. 1. Or the construction may be filled up thus, *vestro periculo, ac rei publicæ periculo*. — 4. *In malis*, “In the calamities” (of the state). — 5. *Hæc conditio consulatus*, “This condition of holding the consulship;” i. e., “if the consulship were given to me on this condition.” — 6. *Non Forum*,—the place where justice was administered—*non campus (Martius)*—where the consular elections were held—*non curia (Hostilia)*, where the senate usually met, here called *summum auxilium omnium gentium*, because the fate of conquered nations was here decided: — *non domus*, the house of a Roman was his castle; it was held inviolable, and no one was allowed to enter it without the consent of the owner: — *non lectus*, alluding to the attempt before made to assassinate him in his bed. I. Or. in Cat. IV. Compare Sall. Cat. 28: — *hæc sedes honoris*, viz., the seat occupied by him as president of the senate, the *sella curulis*. The other senators sat on benches—*subsellia*. Here *vacua* agrees with *sedes*, the noun next to it, though it equally belongs to the other nouns in this enumeration. B. § 98. Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 205. Rem. 2. Exc. — 7. *Ex acerbissima vexatione*, “From the most cruel outrage:” — *templa ac delubra*, see above III. Or. in Cat. I. Note 6. — 8. *Summum nomen* (scil. *Cornelium*) *fore fatale*, &c., “That his name (he being of the Cornelian gens) was fated for the destruction of the state.” See III. Or. in Cat. IV. Note 6.

II.—1. *Qui huic urbi præsent*. Rome, like other cities, had its tutelary deities; the most distinguished of these were Jupiter Stator and Vesta. — 2. *Pro eo ac* (more frequently *ut*) “According as.” — *deinde* refers to *primum* above. — 3. *Consulari*, “To a man of consular rank.” Being consul, Cicero was now over 43 years of age, and had reached the highest honors of the state. — 4. *Nec tamen ego sum ille ferrens qui non movear*, “I am not, however, so iron-hearted as not to be moved.” B. § 31. Obs. 2. *ad fin.* and § 141. *Rule ii.*—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 5. *Exanimata uxor*, “My wife half dead with alarm.” Cicero here mentions his whole family—his brother Quintus—his wife Terentia, who was afterwards divorced for infidelity during his exile, and married the historian Sallust—his son Marcus, then scarcely two years of age, and his son-in-law C. Calpurnius Piso, the husband of his daughter Tullia, of whom, as he had not yet a right to appear in the senate, Cicero says: *adstat in conspectu*, anxiously awaiting the result of the deliberations. — 6. *Et illi et nos*, “Both they” (viz., his family just mentioned) and “we” (himself and the rest of the senate). — 7. *Incumbite*, “Exert yourselves.” The allusion is to the mariner eyeing the impending tem-

pest, bending over his oar, and straining every nerve to reach the harbor before it bursts upon his head. — 8. *Agrarios*: the *Agrarii* were those who hoped to obtain possessions of land through the Licinian law, which Gracchus attempted to revive. The nobles and rich men had in various ways made themselves masters of nearly all the lands in Italy. Tib. Gracchus attempted to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 *jugera*, or nearly 350 acres. These attempts of the Gracchi ultimately cost them their lives. See I. Or. in Cat. I. Note 17. — 9. *Servitia excitantur*, "The slaves are roused to rebellion." This was rather feared than ascertained. See I. Or. in Cat. XI. Note 6. The latter part of this sentence is a sort of rhetorical exaggeration not uncommon in forensic oratory.

III.—1. *Rei*, "The accused." Or. III. in Cat. V.—*Vos multis jam judiciis judicastis*, "by many acts" (viz., those mentioned below) "you yourselves have already decided." — 2. *Singularibus verbis*, "In extraordinary terms," he had before used the word *amplissimis*. — 3. *Qui honos*, "an honor which." — 4. *Sed ego institui*, &c., "But I have resolved, senators, to bring before you anew" (*tanquam integrum*, lit., "as if from the beginning"). — 5. *Illa predicam*, &c., "I will first state those things which belong to the consul," i. e., "which I think it my duty as consul to mention." — 6. *Magnum furorem versare*, "That great disaffection was prevailing:" — *nova*, "strange," "unknown before:" — *misceri et concitari*, "were stirred up and roused into action." — 7. *Quidquid est quocunque*, "Whatever the course is to which:" — *ante noctem*, because if not decided before sunset, it could not be decided that day (a decree of the senate was illegal if passed after sunset or before sunrise); and before another, there might be danger of rescue, or of further treason. — 8. *Huic . . . affines esse*, "are connected with this conspiracy" (= *hujus participes*): — *latius opinione*, "more widely than people believe:" — *manavit*, &c., "it has not only spread abroad." — 9. *Sustentando ac prolatando*, "By enduring and putting off," i. e., "by delay and irresolution."

IV.—1. *Duas adhuc esse sententias*, "That, thus far, two opinions are before you:" — *hæc*, "these things," viz., the city and government. — 2. *Rerum magnitudine*, "The greatness of the crisis:" — *in summa severitate versatur*, lit., "is occupied with," "has his mind set upon," i. e., "is for treating them with the greatest severity." — 3. *Alter*, "The one," viz., Silanus: — *punctum temporis*, "for a moment," the acc. of time how long: — *oportere eos—frui*, "that those who, &c.—ought to

enjoy." B. § 113. Exc. iii. — 4. *Alter intelligit*, "The other (viz., Cæsar) is of opinion:" — *laborum quietem*, "a cessation of (from) toils." Cæsar maintained that death was an eternal sleep, and a benefit rather than an evil, as being the end of all labor and suffering: — *sapientes*, "the wise," i. e., those who adopted the philosophy of Cæsar. — 5. *Vincula*, &c., "Imprisonment, and that for life;" lit., "forever." — 6. *Ista res*, "That proposition of yours"—addressing himself to Cæsar, as the word *ista* shows. — 7. *Qui—non putent esse sue dignitatis recusare*, "Who will not think it belongs to their dignity to refuse," i. e., "who will not think it unsuitable to their dignity to comply with." B. § 141, Rule i.—A. & S. § 264. 6. — 8. *Adjungit*, &c., "He imposes a grievous penalty on the citizens of the free towns:" — *eorum*, "of them," i. e., the conspirators: — *digna*, (i. e., *supplicia omnia digna*) "suitable to." — 9. *Bona*, "Their goods," "their estates." — 10. *Quam si eripuisset*, "For if he had taken this away:" — *multos* (scil., *dolores*) "many sufferings of mind and body:" — *uno dolore*, "with one pang." — 11. *Voluerunt*, "Maintained," "were of opinion:" — *quod videlicet*, "because no doubt:" — *his* (scil. *suppliciiis*).

V.—1. *Quid mea intersit*, "As to what," i. e., "how far it concerns my interests:" — *hanc viam*, "this course:" — *hoc auctore*, &c., "he (Cæsar) being the author and supporter of this opinion." — 2. *Illam alteram (sententiam critis secuti)*. — 3. *Vincat*, used imperatively: — *rationes*, "the considerations:" — *ipsius*, "his own." — 4. *Quid intersit*, "What difference there is;" lit., "as to what there is a difference." — 5. *De istis*, "Of those." *Istis* is here used to express contempt: — *non neminem*, "that some one" (two negatives), some senator. It is not known who is referred to: — *ne (=ut non) sententiam ferat*, "that he may not vote," i. e., "that he may avoid giving his vote:" — *inducere affecit*, "rewarded the informers," viz., the Allobroges. — 6. *Qui reo*, &c. Arrange thus: *Quid (ille) qui decrevit*, &c.—*judicavit de tota re*, &c. — 7. *Legem Semproniam*. The *lex Semproniana*, enacted by C. Sempronius Gracchus, ordained that no citizen should be put to death without the command of the Roman people—"ne injussu populi Romani civis morte multaretur." — 8. *Qui autem*, &c. Here the relative clause stands first. B. § 99. Expl.: *penas rei publicæ dependisse*, "made atonement to the state," lit., "paid the penalty," &c. Caius Gracchus was killed by Opimius, in consequence of the decree of the senate clothing the consuls with absolute power. Either then the expression *jussu populi* is not quite accurate, or Cicero regards that as done *jussu populi* which they did not interfere to prevent, or which they did not afterwards con-

demn. — 9. *Idem*, "He also," viz., Cæsar: — *largitorem t prodigum*, "though lavish and prodigal;" viz., in getting up shows and entertainments to gain the favor of the populace: — *popularem*, "a friend of the people." — 10. *Omnes cruciatus*, acc., object of *consequatur*. By mentioning in this manner the severities proposed by Cæsar, which he could not deny, he adroitly, while appearing to commend, seeks to bring it into disfavor, and so to gain adherents to the opinion of Silanus, which he afterwards speaks of as the milder of the two.

VI.—1. *Hoc*, referring to the judgment of Cæsar just mentioned: — *comitem ad concionem*, "a companion to the public assembly." After a decree was passed in the senate, it was reported to the people by the consul, and Cicero here intimates that the name of Cæsar, as the mover and supporter of the decree, being highly popular, would secure the approbation of the people. — 2. *Atque obtinebo*, &c., "And I will maintain (demonstrate) that it (viz., the opinion of Silanus; see above IV.) is the milder of the two." — 3. *Nam ita mihi*, &c., "For, though I am more urgent than usual in this case, may it be permitted me to enjoy the republic in a state of safety with you, only as I am moved, not by cruelty of mind, but, &c." *Ita ut* before the indicative, as here, is used to express a strong asseveration. — 4. *Videor mihi videre*, "Methinks I see," lit., "it seems to me that I see." III. Or. VIII. Note 2. — *sepulta in patria*, &c., "piles of my fellow-citizens unburied in my ruined country." Nothing can be more graphic than the scene of misery and ruin here depicted, especially when it is considered, with what horror the Romans regarded the want of burial: — *versatur*, "is often present:" — *et furor (ejus) bacchantis*, "and the madness of him raging;" i. e., his fury as he rages. — 5. *Mihi proposui*, "I have placed before me;" i. e., "I have pictured to myself:" — *ex fatis*. III. Or. in Cat. IV. Note 6. — *tum—tum*, "not only—but also:" — *purpuratum esse*, "is arrayed in purple," viz., as an attendant of royalty. — 6. *Me præbebo*, "I will show myself." — 7. *Supplicium de servis*. The allusion is to the Roman law which ordained that all the slaves of a family should be put to death for the murder committed by one of them, on his master, or any member of his family, if the perpetrator of the murder could not be discovered. — 8. *Mihi (is videatur) vero*, "to me indeed he would appear:" — *sic nos—habebimur*, &c., "so also we shall be esteemed, &c." — 9. *Qui id egerunt, ut*, &c., "Who have aimed at this, namely, that, &c." — 10. *Virum*, "That the husband," viz., Lentulus the conspirator, who had married Julia the sister of L. Julius Cæsar, when she was a widow, and the mother of Mark Antony: — *avum*, "that his own grandfather:" viz., M. Fulvius Flæcus, who, with his son, a

youth of 18 years of age, was put to death by the order of Opimius the consul, for favoring the designs of the Gracchi. — 11. *Quorum quod simile factum?* “Of these what deed is similar (to this of the conspirators)?” — 12. *Largitionis voluntas*, “A disposition to bribe the people by largesses.” This was the object of the Gracchi in seeking to revive the Licinian law in order to a distribution of the public lands among the citizens. — 13. *Avus Lentuli*, scil. P. Lentulus mentioned III. Or. in Cat. V. See Note 4: — *ille*, “the former,” viz., *avus*—*hic*, “the latter,” viz., the conspirator. — 14. *Ne remissione pœnæ*, “That by any relaxation of punishment.” B. § 140. Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 262. Rem. 7.

VII.—1. *Jaciuntur enim voces*, “expressions are thrown out:” — *ut habeam*, “that I have not,” (see references in preceding note). — 2. *Quum—tum etiam*, “Not only—but also.” — 3. *Causa hæc sola inventa est*, “This cause alone has occurred:” — *præter eos qui*, “except such as.” — 4. *Summam ordinis*, “pre-eminence of rank:” — *de amore*, “in love.” — 5. *Ex multorum annorum dissensione*, “After a dissension of many years,” viz., from the time of C. Gracchus, who, by the Sempronian law, took from the senate the *judicia* or right of judging, and gave it to the equites. It was again restored to the senate by Sulla. This produced disagreement between the Orders, which was in part removed afterwards by the law of Cotta, who shared it between the Senate, the equites, and the tribunes of the treasury: — *hæc causa*, viz., the conspiracy of Catiline. — 6. *Quam si conjunctionem*, &c., “If we shall maintain perpetually in the state, this union established in my consulship, I assure you, &c.” — 7. *Tribunos ærarios*, “The tribunes of the treasury.” These were plebeians who paid to the quæstors from the treasury the money required to pay the soldiers. — 8. *Scribas item universos—video*, “I see likewise all the (public) scribes.” These were either freedmen, or Roman citizens, who acted as secretaries to the magistrates, and received their pay from the treasury. They were distributed by lot among the different magistrates; hence, *ab expectatione sortis*, “from looking after their lot:” — *frequentasset*, “had brought in great numbers;” used transitively;—*quum—tum*, see Note 2 above.

VIII.—1. *Libertinorum hominum*. See III. Or. VI. 10. — 2. *Quidam*, “Certain persons,” referring sarcastically to Lentulus, Cethegus, &c. — 3. *Servus est nemo*, “There is not a slave.” This usage of *nemo* is found in such expressions as *nemo homo*, “no man”—*nemo unus*, “no one,” &c. — *qui modo sit*, “if he only is.”—B. § 141. Rule iv.—A. & S. § 264. 2.—*perhorrescat*. B. § 141. Rule i. Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 264. 7. — (*tantum*) *voluntatis*, “So much good-will.” — 4. *Es' id quidem captum*,

“That indeed was undertaken:” — *qui non velint*, “that they do not wish.” — 5. *Multo maxima pars*, “Much the greatest part:” i. e., “the great majority.” B. § 134. Obs. 6. 3d. — 6. *Omne instrumentum*, “All their means,” or “stock:” — *quorum si quaestus*, “if the gain of these:” — *occlusis tabernis*, “when their shops are shut.” This was usually done by order of the consul in times of disturbance: — *quid tandem?* “what then?”

**IX.—1.** *Consulem*, meaning himself—*media morte*. B. § 98. Obs. 9.—A. & S. § 205. Rem. 17, referring to the attempt made to assassinate him. — 2. *Aras penatium*, “The altars of the domestic gods.” These gods were of two classes, the *lares* and *penates*; the former of human, the latter of divine origin. — 3. *Ignem illum Vestæ, &c.*, “That fire of Vesta burning continually.” Some editions have *perpetuum ac sempiternum*—words nearly synonymous. If this fire went out, it was considered a bad omen, and it had to be expiated by extraordinary sacrifices; the priestess in charge was punished by scourging, and the fire was rekindled from the sun. — 4. *De focis vestris*, “concerning your firesides” (your homes). — 5. *Quæ—facultas*, “An advantage which.” B. § 99. Obs. 1. 2d.—A. & S. § 206. Rem. 19. (3.) — 6. *In civili causa*, “In a public cause:” — *unum atque idem sentientem*, “of one mind,” lit., “thinking one and the same thing.” — 7. *Cogitate—una nox, &c.*, “Reflect that one night,” &c., § 145. Obs. 5. 3d and § 140. Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 273. 2. and § 262. Rem. 4: — *esse princeps*, “to be the first,” i. e., “to take the lead.”

**X.—1.** *Ad sententiam (rogandum)*, “To ask for your opinion:” — *ego—video*, “I perceive”—“I am well aware.” — 2. *Quod si aliquando*, “But if ever:” — *ista*, expressing contempt: — *vestra ac rei publicæ*; see above, I. 3. — 3. *Quanta*, “As.” The full construction is, *quanta (laus est qua)*, “as (the glory is with which).” — 4. *Gesta scil. re publica*. — 5. *Scipio*, viz., Scipio Africanus the elder: — *alter Africanus*, viz., Scipio Africanus the younger. — 6. *Iisden, quibus—continentur*, the meaning is, “extend over” or “fill the whole world.” After *cursus* supply *continentur*. — 7. *Quo*, “Whither”—*locum ad quem*, “a place to which.” — 8. *Uno loco*, “In one respect.” — 9. *Externæ victoriæ*, ‘Of a victory abroad’—*domesticæ*, “of a victory at home:” — *hostes alienigenæ*, “enemies being foreigners.” B. § 97, Rule i. — 10. *Possis*, “You may be able;” this is mentioned not as a fact, but only as probable; hence the subjunctive is used. § 42. II. 2d Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 260. II. — 11. *Vestro bonorumque*. See above I. 3. So below, *vestram equi-*

*amque.* — 12. *Quæ possit.* § 141. Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 264. 1. “As can:” — *conspirationem*, “unity,” “concord.”

XI.—1. *Pro imperio*, “In return for the authority,” viz., the command of Macedonia, which fell to his lot as his province after the expiration of his consulship; but which he relinquished to his colleague Antonius in order to win him from the conspiracy, which he secretly favored, and secure his attachment to the state. So here, *exercitu, provincia, &c.* refer to those things which he might reasonably have anticipated in the command of this rich province, but which he surrendered in his devotion to this cause: — *neglexi*, “I have disregarded,” i. e., in comparison with the interests of the state. — 2. *Clientelis hospitibusque*, “Clientships and hospitalities.” It was esteemed an honor by men in Rome to have many clients in the provinces, i. e., men who regarded them as their patrons at Rome; and men on whose friendship and hospitality they might reckon when abroad: — *urbanis opibus*, “by my influence (or resources) in the city.” — 3. *Quæ dum erit fixa*, “For as long as this (scil. *memoria consulatus*) shall be firmly fixed.” B. § 99. Obs. 8. — 4. *Fefellerit*, “Shall have disappointed.” — 5. *Satis præsidi*, “Sufficient protection.” B. § 135. 3.—A. & S. § 212. Rem. 4 or Rem. 3. Or if *satis* be taken adjectively, the construction will come under B. § 106. Rule viii. — 6. *Eum consulem qui*, “Such a consul as:” — *dubitet—possit*. See references Ch. X. 12.

## ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS

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### INTRODUCTION.

A. LICINIUS ARCHIAS was a native of Antioch, a city distinguished for the cultivation of Greek art and learning. At an early age he acquired considerable reputation as a poet. He came to Rome when about 18 or 20 years of age, and was courted by men of the greatest eminence, on account of his learning, genius, and politeness. Among others, Lucullus treated him with the greatest kindness, received him into his family, and while there, it is said that many of the young nobles and persons of distinction, and Cicero among the rest, received the benefit of his instructions in literature and the arts. Several years after this he travelled with Lucullus into Sicily, and on their return they passed through Heraclia in Lucania, where, through the interest of his patron, he obtained the rights of citizenship in this confederated and free town. Grateful for the kindness shown to him, he, on this occasion, assumed his patron's family name of Licinius. Some time after this, B. C. 92, a law was enacted giving the right of citizenship to all who had been enrolled as citizens of the allied states, provided they had a domicile in Italy at the time when the law was passed, and gave in their name to the prætor within sixty days. Archias complied with these conditions, and gave in his name for registration to the prætor, Q. Metellus, and enjoyed the rights of a Roman citizen for more than twenty years.

In the year B. C. 65, the Papian law was passed, enacting that all strangers (*peregrini*), i. e., persons who were not citizens, should be expelled from Rome. On that occasion one Grattius, influenced by some malignant feeling against Archias or his patron, came forward and asserted that Archias was a stranger who had illegally assumed the name of a Roman



citizen, and attempted to drive him from the city. It unfortunately happened, that, in opposition to this charge, he was unable to furnish any legal documents to prove his right of citizenship, as the archives of Heraclia had been destroyed by fire; and for some reason or other, during his stay at Rome, his name as a citizen had not been entered on the census lists. Cicero undertook his defence, and in the absence of legal proofs enlarged on the dignity of literature and poetry, on the genius and accomplishments of Archias, on the benefits which the state as well as himself had derived from his literary productions, and on these grounds maintained that even if he had not been a Roman citizen, such were his merits, it was their duty to make him one, and secure him to the state, rather than, for the want of technical evidence, to deprive him of the rights to which he was justly entitled.

This is one of the orations of Cicero on which he has succeeded in bestowing the finest polish; it is perhaps the most pleasing of all his harangues, and is interspersed with beautiful maxims and sentences, which have been quoted with delight in all ages. It was delivered before the prætor Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, A. U. C. 692, B. C. 61, when Cicero was in the forty-sixth year of his age. The result of this trial is unknown, and the remaining period of the life of Archias is buried in utter obscurity; but the eloquence and beauty of this oration, as well as its commendations of elegant literature (*humaniora*), will ever render it "a useful, agreeable, and inciting study to young readers."

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NOTES.

- I.—1.** *Ingenii*, "Natural talent," "genius:" — *exercitatio dicendi*, "experience (practice) in public speaking:" — *hujusce rei ratio*, "systematic knowledge (or knowledge of the theory) of this same art," viz., oratory. Such is the meaning of *ratio* here: — *profecta*, "arising," "resulting." B. § 49, Note 1. — **2.** *Vel in primis*, lit., "Even among the first," i. e., "most of all," "chiefly:" — *hic A. Licinius*, "this A. Licinius;" *hic* indicates his presence in the court. — **3.** *Inde usque repetens*, "Recollecting even from that time," "tracing down, &c." Cicero was about five years of age when Archias first came to Rome. — **4.** *Mihi principem*, "My first (my chief) adviser." — **5.** *Quod alia quedam*, &c., "Seeing that there is in him a somewhat different kind of talent:" — *neque* (B. § 93. 1) *hæc*, &c., "and not this knowledge and practice in public

speaking (which belongs to me)." This is the idea conveyed by *hæc* in this place. Archias was a poet, Cicero an orator. — 6. *Ne nos quidem*, &c. We may here supply *dican*, or a similar word, as the independent clause on which this depends; (I will state) "that I have not indeed always been wholly devoted to this one study," viz. oratory.

II.—1. *Ne . . . videatur*, "That it may not seem." The proper subject of *videatur* is the following clause—*me—uti hoc genere*. &c. B. § 145. 1.—A. & S. § 269: — *in questione legitima*, "in a legal question;" i. e., a question to be settled by law. Such was the question, whether Archias was a citizen or not. — 2. *Quum res agatur*, "When the cause is pleaded:" — *severissimos iudices*, "most grave (strict) judges." These were selected by the prætor from the senators or equites, as a council to assist him with their advice, or to give weight to his decisions. They sat on the *subsellia*, and were called *assessores*. In this cause, the prætor or judge was Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, and a man of learning. — 3. *Hoc genere dicendi*, "This kind of pleading," viz., not confining himself strictly as usual to the testimony, and the strict forms of law; for the legal proofs of what he wanted to establish were wanting; but his enlarging in the praises of liberal studies for which Archias was so celebrated: — *quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum abhorreat*, "which is at variance not only with the usual methods of trials." — 4. *Huic reo*, "To this defendant:" — *hæc vestra humanitate*, "with such liberal knowledge as you possess." *Hæc* here, as frequently, has the force of *tali*, "such." B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207. Rem. 26. — 5. *De studiis humanitatis ac liberalium*, "Respecting the pursuits of liberal knowledge and learning." *Humanitas* in Cicero often signifies a knowledge of the liberal arts, or branches of learning, such as history, poetry, language, oratory, &c., so called perhaps because of the effect they have in improving (humanizing) the mind. — 6. *In ejusmodi persona*, "In a character of this kind," i. e., in the case of such a man as Archias. *Persona*, from *persono*, "to sound through," properly means the mask worn by the actors in the Roman theatres, to represent the person or character exhibited. It usually covered the whole head, and the actor *spoke through* a large opening opposite the mouth. Hence it also means the character represented, the *person* as here, viz. Archias. — 7. *Que minime tractata est*, "Which is very little versant;" lit., "handled," "brought forward." — 8. *Novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi*, "A mode of speaking somewhat new and unusual;" see above, Note 3. — 9. *Perficiam profecto ut putetis*, "I will certainly cause you to think," lit., "that you think."

III.—1. *Ad humanitatem informari solet*, "Is accustomed to be trained to liberal knowledge?" — *scribendi studium*, "the study of writing," i. e., "of poetic composition." — 2. *Loco nobili*, "Of a noble family," lit., "of noble rank:" — *Antiochiæ celebri quondam urbe et copiosa*, "at Antioch, a city formerly populous and rich." B. § 97, Exc. 3.—A. & S. § 204, Rem. 7: — *affluenti*, "abounding," abl. — 3. *Sic ejus adventus, &c.*, "His arrivals were so much talked of, that the expectation of (or desire of seeing) the man exceeded the fame of his genius; and his arrival and the admiration (it excited) surpassed the expectation of him;" i. e., to which he had given rise. — 4. *Vchementius*, "With more ardor:" — *quam nunc (coluntur) &c.*, "than they are now cultivated in these towns:" — *et non negligebantur*, "and they were not neglected;" meaning, "they were diligently attended to." — 5. *Itaque hunc et Tarentini—civitate donarunt*, "Wherefore him both the Tarentini, &c.—presented with the freedom of their cities." These were the three most noted cities in southern Italy (*Magna Græcia*) and Campania. — 6. *Qui aliquid, &c.*, "Who could form any judgment of his talents." — 7. *Jam absentibus*, "Even to persons absent," i. e., who had never seen him: — *Mario consule, &c.*, "in the consulship of Marius and Catulus," i. e., B. c. 102. — 8. *Consules eos*, "Those persons in the consulship," namely, Marius and Catulus: — *quorum alter*, "the one of whom," viz., Marius. His celebrated exploits in the war with the Teutones and Cimbri formed a theme for the pen of Archias. The other, not only great exploits, but also *studium atque aures*, "a fondness for letters and (a correct) ear," i. e., "good taste," to judge of his productions. — 9. *Luculli*, two brothers, Licinius and Marcus, both distinguished men: — *prætextatus*, "a youth." About 17 years of age, the Roman youth laid aside the *toga prætexta*, which they wore till that time, and assumed the *toga virilis*. — 10. *Sed enim hoc non solum ingenii* (supply *causa, or ergo*), "But truly this was not only on account of his talents." Orelli has *sed etiam*, but says he thinks it manifestly corrupt. Freund quotes the passage '*sed enim*,' which is here adopted. *Hoc* refers to the next clause, *ut domus, &c.* — 11. *Illi Numidico*; *illi* is emphatic — "that celebrated Numidicus." Metellus received this *agnomen* on account of his conquering Jugurtha in Numidia; see Sall. Jug., 46.—His son received the name *Pius*, because he appeared in mourning to solicit the return of his father from exile. — 12. *Audiebatur*, "he was listened to," viz., in his discourses, or when he recited his poems in private circles: — *colebatur*, "he was highly esteemed." — 13. *Derinctam consuetudine, &c.*, "And since he held united to him by habits of intimacy, the Luculli, &c.:" — *Drusum*; M. L. Drusus, a tribune of the commons who carried many laws, but was murdered in his own house: — *Octavios*, "the two

Octavii," Cneius and Lucius: — *Catonem*, "M. Cato," tribune of the people, and father of Cato Uticensis: — *Hortensiorum*, "of the Hortensii," viz., Lucius and Quintus. — 14. *Quod eum non solum colebant, qui, &c.*, "Because (or "seeing that") not only those cultivated his acquaintance, who," &c.

IV.—1. *Heracliam*, "To Heraclia," a city in Lucania, in lower Italy, between the rivers *Aciris* and *Siris*. — 2. *Que quum esset civitas, &c.*, "And since this was a state of (i. e., enjoying) the highest privilege, and the most honorable alliance." B. § 106, R. vii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 6. — *Æquissimo* with *jure* expresses the greatness of the privilege, being, as near as possible, *on a level* with Rome itself: — with *fœdere*, it means the fairness and justice of the terms of the compact by which this privilege was secured. B. § 150. 1. 3d.—A. & S. § 323. 1 (3). This alliance or compact was formed when Pyrrhus was in Italy, B. c. 278. — 3. *Civitas*, "The rights of Roman citizenship,"—the law here referred to, was the *lex Plautia*, passed B. c. 89. — 4. *Si sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi*, "If within sixty days (viz., from the enactment of the law), they made their claims before the prætor." — 5. *Quum . . . hic haberet*, "since he had:" — *multos jam annos*, "many years before." He came to Rome B. c. 101; the law was passed B. c. 89, consequently he had a residence in Italy 12 years before that time. — 6. *De civitate ac lege*, "Concerning his citizenship (at Heraclia), and the law" (referred to): — *causa dicta est*, "the cause is pleaded,"—is at an end. — 7. *Grati*, some editions have *Gracche*. Whether the name of this accuser was Gratinus or Gracchus is not agreed, nor is it a matter of any moment. — 8. *Non opinari, sed scire*, "Not that he thinks it is so, but that he knows it to be so." — 9. *Hic tu tabulas desideras, &c.*, "Here you require the public registers of the Heraclians:" — *Italico bello*, "in the Italian (sometimes called the Social and sometimes the Marsic) war:" — *tabulario*, "the register office," where the public registers were kept. — 10. *Literarum memoriam flagitare*, "To demand the evidence (testimony) of writings." — 11. *Religionem*, "The faith," "the solemn declaration:" — *jusjurandum fidemque*, "the oath and the honor:" — *Repudiare* and *desiderare*, as well as the preceding infinitives *dicere, quærere, &c.*, are related to *est* above as its subject, B. § 144, R. lvi. with Expl.—A. & S. § 269; and *ridiculum* in the neuter gender is the attribute predicated of these subjects. B. § 98, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 7. (2). — 12. *Quas (tu) idem dicis*, "Which you yourself say;"—*idem* agrees with *tu* understood, rendering it emphatic—"you yourself." — 13. *An domicilium?*

&c., "Had he not a dwelling at Rome?" — 14. *An non est professus?* "Did he not make his claim?" In this way Cicero anticipates two objections and refutes them. — 15. *Immo vero, &c.*, "Nay, indeed, he did so in those registers which alone," &c. Namely, those of the prætor Metellus mentioned below.

V.—1. *Nam*, "For," introducing the reason why the registers of Metellus, in which the name of Archias was enrolled, are more worthy of credit than those of Appius, who was careless, or those of Gabinius, who was corrupt: — *damnationem*, Gabinius was found guilty of extortion in his province of Achaia. — 2. *Resignasset*, "Had destroyed;" the allusion is to unsealing and corrupting a document. — 3. *Judices*, see above II. 2. — 4. *Civitate*, "Citizenship,"—so below, *civitatem*. — 5. *Rheginos credo*, "I am to believe, I suppose, that the Rhegini;"—*credo* is used ironically. These were nations in Magna Græcia in the south of Italy. — 6. *Scenicis artificibus largiri*, "To bestow freely on stage-players," a class of men held in little repute by the Romans. — 7. *Quid?* "What!" an exclamation expressing astonishment that any one should deny the citizenship of Archias, when so many of inferior merit obtained this privilege and enjoyed it unmolested. — 8. *Post civitatem datam*, "After the right of citizenship was given," viz., under the Plautian law mentioned above: — *post legem Papiam*. This law, carried by the tribune C. Papius, B. C. 65, being 24 years after the Plautian, ordained that all foreigners should be expelled from the city. In consequence of this, many foreigners contrived to have their names surreptitiously inserted in the registers of the free towns, and so evaded the law. These registers, being thus corrupted, were of course worthless as evidence either for or against a claim of citizenship. — 9. *Census nostros requiris*, "You ask us for our census lists." When a census was taken at Rome, which was usually done every five years, the names of the citizens were enrolled in the censor's list. The name of Archias was not on these lists; and this fact the accuser, it seems, brings forward as evidence against the claim of citizenship made by Archias. Cicero in defence admits the fact but shows it could not be otherwise; because either, when the census was taken, Archias was absent from Rome with Lucullus on military duty, or, when he was in Rome, there was no enrolment of names. — 10. *Scilicet*, "Of course:" — *est enim obscurum*, "for it is not known, I suppose." The expression is ironical, and means "every body knows." — 11. *Proximis censoribus*, "Under the last censors," viz., L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, B. C. 70. This may be regarded as the ablative of time, B. § 131, R. xl.—A. & S. § 253; or governed by a pre-

position (*sub*) understood: — *superioribus*, scil. *ensoribus*, “under the censors next preceding,” viz., L. Marcius Philippus, and M. Perperna, B. c. 86: — *primis*, “under the first censors,” (viz., the first after his coming to Rome), Julius and Crassus, B. c. 89. — **12.** *Quem*, i. e., *Iste Archias, quem*, &c., “That same Archias who, you charge, did not, even in his own judgment, possess the right of a Roman citizen.” — **13.** *Adiit hereditates*, “Succeeded to inheritances.” — **14** *In beneficiis ad ararium delatus est*, “was reported to the treasury among those recommended to favor.” When a person distinguished himself in the public service, the person under whom he acted returned his name as one who deserved well of the state. This was a recommendation to future advantages and favors.—None of all these things could have been done, if Archias had not all along been regarded as a Roman citizen.

**VI.—1.** *Quare argumenta*, &c., “Search out other arguments, if you can find any other.” B. § 37. 3. — **2.** *Revinetur*, “He will be refuted:” — *neque . . . neque*, “either . . . or.” B. § 134, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 277, Rem. 5. — **3.** *Quia*, I will tell you, it is “because:” — *ubi*, “wherewith,” = “that with which.” — **4.** *Suppetere nobis posse*, “That we could have at hand,” lit. “that there could be present to us:” — *quod*, “that which:” — *tantam contentionem*, “so great effort:” — *nisi relaxemus*, “unless we should unbend them.” The allusion is to the bow, which, if kept continually bent, loses its elasticity, and becomes powerless. — **5.** *Ceteros pudeat*, “Let others be ashamed.” B. § 113, Exc. 2.—A. & S. § 215. — **6.** *A tempore aut commodo*, “From the danger, or advantage.” *Tempus*, in Cicero, frequently means the condition or circumstances of an individual, good or bad, at a particular time, as the context may indicate; being here opposed to *commodo*, it is equivalent to *periculo*. See Ernesti, Ind. Lat. *tempus*. — **7.** *Quis reprehendat*, i. e., *quis est qui reprehendat*. B. § 141, Rule i.—A. & S. § 264. 7. — **8.** *Si quantum*, &c. Arrange grammatically thus, *Si egomet sumpsero mihi ad recolenda hæc studia, tantum temporis quantum conceditur ceteris, ad suas res obcundas*, &c. — **9.** *Hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas* (by Hendiadys for *facultas orationis*. B. § 150, 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 323, 2 (3), “This same faculty of public speaking, which I cultivate, is increased.” For the force of *hæc* here, see above I., 5. — **10.** *Quæ si*, &c., “And if this seems to any one too inconsiderable (to speak of), I know certainly at least from what source I may derive those advantages which are most important.” — *Sentio* has for its object the dependent clause *ex quo*, &c. — **11.** *Magnopere*, “With great effort,” “earnestly:” — *honestatem*, “honor:” — *parvi esse ducenda*, “are

to be considered of little value." B. § 126, Rule ii.—A. & S. § 214. —  
 12. *Quam multas imagines fortissimorum virorum*, "How many delineations of the bravest men." — 13. *Ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium*, "By even thinking of these excellent men." The genitive objective. B. § 106, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 2.

VII.—1. *Literis prodite sunt (nobis)*, "Are recorded in history," lit., "are made known to us by letters." Ablative of means. — 2. *Difficile est*. See above IV. 11. So in the next clause *est* and *certum* are related to *quid respondeam*, in the same manner. — 3. *Naturam sine doctrina sapius valuisse*, "That natural talent (lit., nature) without learning has oftener availed," i. e., "has oftener raised men" *ad laudem*, &c. — 4. *Atque idem ego contendo*, "And yet I contend," B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 27: — *ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ*, "A certain training and moulding (of the character) which learning produces." *Doctrinæ* genitive active, B. § 106, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 2: — *illud nescio quid*, "something or other," lit., "that, I know not what:" — *solere* is governed by *contendo*, and has *illud* for its subject. — 5. *Ex hoc esse hunc numero*, "That of this number was this:" — *divinum hominem*, this clause, and the following also, depend on *contendo*. — 6. *Si nihil*, &c., "If men were not aided by learning in acquiring and practising virtue:" — *earum*, scil. *literarum*, "of it," viz., learning. — 7. *Adversionem animi hanc*, "This employment of the mind." — 8. *Nam ceteræ (adversiones) neque sunt temporum*, "For other employments of the mind are not suited to all times," &c., B. § 108, Rule xii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 8 (3). — 9. *Adversis*, scil. *rebus*, "In adversity:" — *peregrinantur, rusticantur (nobis)*, "they accompany us on our travels abroad, and in our rural retirements." — 10. *Ipsi*, "We ourselves."

VIII.—1. *Tam agresti ac duro*, "So rude and unfeeling:" — *Rosciï morte*, "by the death of Roscius," a celebrated actor supposed to have been a native of Gaul. He had acquired such perfection in his acting on the stage, that his name became proverbial for any one distinguished in his art or profession. Cicero himself elsewhere owns that he had learned much from Roscius, especially in reference to delivery. — 2. *Qui quum esset senex mortuus*, "And though he died in a good old age." — 3. *Videbatur omnino mori non debuisse*, "It seemed that he ought not to die at all." — 4. *Quum*, "Although," B. § 140, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 263. 5: — *que tunc agebantur*, "which were then going on:" — *dicere ea tempore*, "speaking on the spur of the moment,"—"without premedita

tion;" after the manner of the Italian improvisatores, who profess to make rhymes and short poems extemporaneously. — 5. *Quoties (hunc vidi) revocatum, &c.*, "How often have I seen him when recalled (i. e., when requested to repeat), speak the same thing, the words and sentiments being entirely changed." — 6. *Que vero, &c.*, "But those things which he had written with great care and study, I have seen so highly commended, that they attained the renown (of the productions) of the ancient writers." — 7. *Hunc ego non diligam, i. e., Estne ut hunc non diligam?* "Should I not love?" B. § 42, Obs. 5. — 8. *Atque sic accepimus*, "Yet so we have certainly heard:" — *ceterarum rerum studia . . . . . constare*, "that the (successful) pursuit of other things depends." — 9. *Poetam natura ipsa valere*, "That the poet derives his power from nature herself." — 10. *Noster ille Ennius*, "Our own Ennius." Ennius, a native of Rudia in Calabria, flourished in the time of the second Punic war, in which he served as a centurion, and of which he composed a poetical history. He also wrote tragedies in imitation of the Greek tragedians—satiric dramas, &c.; but fragments only of his writings now remain. He died B. C. 169. He obtained the freedom of the city, B. C. 184, and was generally styled the father of Roman song. — 11. *Aliquo dono atque munere*, "By some eminent gift." Two words nearly synonymous are sometimes used to express one idea with greater force. — 12. *Humanissimos*, "Most distinguished for liberal knowledge" (for refinement). See above II. 5. — 13. *Moveamur*, see above Note 7. — 14. *Homerum Colophonii, &c.* Four towns are here mentioned as claiming the honor of being Homer's birth-place; three more are mentioned in a Greek verse, viz., *Rhodus, Argos, and Athenæ*. Of all these, Smyrna appears to have the best claim. The argument of Cicero is this:—If so many places claimed the honor of being the birth-place of Homer, what will be thought of Rome, if she reject so distinguished a poet as Archias from the number of her citizens? See next chapter.

IX.—1. *Alienum*, "A stranger:" — *olim contulerit*, "has for a long time employed" (lit., "brought," "made use of," "applied"). — 2. *Et Cimbricas res, &c.*, "When a young man he both undertook to celebrate our Cimbrian affairs;" i. e., the exploits of Marius against the Cimbri. In two battles he is said to have killed 200,000 of the enemy, and taken 80,000 prisoners. The work of Archias here referred to was begun, but probably not finished: — *attigit* is coupled with *inchoavit* in Chap. XI. below — *durior*, "too rugged." — 3. *Qui non facile patiatur*, "As not readily to allow." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S., § 264. 1. — 4. *Quod acroama*, "What music." *Acroama* properly signifies that which is "pleas-



ant to the ear," whether read, recited, or sung; especially an entertainment at meals, either by music or reading. By meton., it means also "the performer." — 5. *Eximie L. Plotium dilxit*, "Greatly loved L. Plotius." Plotius was a Roman poet, and is supposed to be the same who taught rhetoric at Rome. — 6. *Mithridaticum bellum*. The war with Mithridates the Great began B. C. 89, and continued with great variety of success for about 30 years. It was one of the longest and most celebrated wars ever carried on by the Romans against a foreign power: — *totum* here means only the whole of that war in which Lucullus was concerned. This war was conducted first by Sylla, then by Lucullus, from B. C. 73 to 67, and was brought to a close by Pompey. See introduction to *Or. pro Manilia lege*: — *ab hoc*, "by him," viz., Archias, present before them, as *hoc* indicates. — 7. *Qui libri*, "And these books"—"and this poem," called *libri* because divided into books. — 8. *Vallatum*, "Though defended." — 9. *Non maxima manu*, "With no very large force." In this battle the army of the Armenians under Tigranes numbered 200,000, while the Romans had only 10,000. In derision of this small force, Tigranes said, "if they came as ambassadors they were too many; if as soldiers, too few." Even as soldiers, however, they proved too many for him. — 10. *Populi Romani laus est*, "To the Roman people belongs the praise, that, &c." Cyzicus, a city of Mysia in alliance with the Romans, was besieged by Mithridates, but Lucullus compelled him to raise the siege and saved the city. Mithridates is said to have lost three hundred thousand men in his vain attempts to take this city. — 11. *Nostra (classis) feretur*, &c., "Our fleet, and that incredible naval battle at Tenedos, will always be spoken of and extolled, when, Lucullus being in command, the fleet of the enemy was sunk, their leaders being slain:"—*nostra (classis)* here, is opposed to *hostium classis*, in the next clause. — 12. *Effceruntur*, "Are spread abroad." — 13. *In sepulchro*, "On the tomb." — 14. *At iis laudibus*, "But by these praises," viz., of Ennius. — 15. *Hujus proavus Cato*, "Cato the great-grandfather of this" (Cato now present, probably as one of the assessors in this trial). The Cato meant by *hujus* was Marcus Cato, called Uticensis, from his death at Utica. He was the great-grandson of M. Porcius Cato, surnamed Censorius.

X.—1. *Illum—Rudinum hominem*, "Him a native of Rudia," viz., Ennius. See above VIII. 10. In this contrast it will be observed the orator places the claims of Archias in a strong light. — 2. *Minorem gloriæ fructum*, "That a less amount of glory," or more simply, "that less glory." — 3. *Græca leguntur*, "Greek is read." *Græca* and *Latina*

may be regarded as adjectives with *opera* understood:—or, taken absolutely, as nouns in the neuter plural, meaning “Greek” and “Latin.” — *suis finibus—continentur*, “is confined to its own limits,” viz., Latium. Though in after ages the Latin language was extensively in use through the Roman empire, yet in the time of Cicero it was nearly as here stated. — 4. *Orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur*, “Are bounded only by the limits (“boundary lines,”) [this is the primary meaning of the word] of the world.” — 5. *Ampla*, “Glorious:” — *qui de vita*, “who, at the risk of life.” — 6. *Scriptores rerum suarum*, “Historians of his exploits.” — 7. *In Sigeo*, “On Sigeum.” This was a noted promontory on the coast of Troy, where it is supposed was the tomb of Achilles. — 8. *Qui inveneris*, “Since you have found.” B. § 141, Rule III.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — 9. *Noster hic Magnus*, “This our own Pompey the Great:” — *Noster* here, and *nostri* afterwards, are used with a feeling of pride. Theophanes, a poet of Mitylene, followed Pompey in his expeditions to the East. Only a few epigrams of his have come down to us: — *nostri illi fortes viri*, “these brave men of ours.” — 10. *Credo*, (“I suppose,”) both here and below, is used to show that the whole sentence is irony. When so used, it does not usually affect the construction of the sentence, which would be the same without it as with it, but is thrown in as a sort of parenthesis: — *perficere non potuit*, “he could not have managed.” In hypothetical sentences like this, the subjunctive is used both in the protasis and apodosis; and what is remarkable is, that if the verb in the one is in the imperfect, in the other it is often in the pluperfect. — 11. *Quem* (subject of *jubere* below), i. e., *Ille Sulla quem*, “that Sulla whom:” — *quum ei libellum*, &c., “when a wretched poet of the common people had presented to him a petition, because he had written a short poem in his praise, only with alternate lines a little longer (than the others):” i. e., with hexameter and pentameter lines alternately. — 12. *Qui*, i. e., *nun ille qui—non*, “And would not he who:” — *hujus*, “of him” (here present, viz., Archias). — 13. *Impetravisset*, scil. *civitatem*, “Would he have obtained the right of citizenship, neither, &c.?” — 14. *Qui præsertim*, “Especially since he,” viz., Q. Metellus Pius. — 15. *Cordubæ*, “At Corduba,” a city of Spain. — 16. *Pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum*, “Uttering something dull and barbarous.”

XI.—1. *Sed præ nobis ferendum*, “But to be openly acknowledged by us.” lit., “carried before us,” so as to be seen and known by all men. — 2. *Optimus quisque*, &c., “The best man is always most influenced by the love of glory.” The effect of *quisque* is here given by “always.” The meaning is, “the best men, &c.” — 3. *Iis libellis*, “In those trea-

tises:" — *in eo ipso*, &c., "in that very thing in which they despise (i. e., affect to despise) commendation and celebrity:" — *prædicari* is used impersonally: — *ac nominari*, "and to be named." — 4. *Decimus quidem Brutus*, "Even Decimus Brutus:" — *Ille* here again, as also in the next sentence, is used for emphasis, like the Greek article. Decimus Brutus was consul B. C. 138. He conquered the Lusitanians and Gallæcians in Spain, whence he obtained the surname of Gallaicus. His friend Attius here mentioned was a rival of the poet Pacuvius; his principal productions were tragedies. — 5. *Jam vero ille—Fulvius*, "And furthermore that Fulvius," viz., M. Fulvius Nobilior. He was made consul B. C. 188, and was intrusted with the war in Greece: — *Martis manubias*, "the spoils of war." — 6. *In qua urbe—in ea*, arrange: *in ea urbe in qua*, "In that city in which." B. § 99, Obs. 1. 2d.—A. & S., § 206. (3). — 7. *A Musarum honore—abhorrcrc*, "To be averse to the honor of the muses." — 8. *Jam me vobis indicabo*, "I will now express myself fully to you," i. e., "I will state my views to you." — 9. *Quas res*, as antecedent supply *cas* governed by *attigit*, and arrange as in preceding note: "Those things which," &c., referring to his services in crushing the conspiracy of Catiline: — *quibus auditis*, "and when I heard these verses (viz., of Archias)" B. § 146, Obs. 9.—A. & S., § 257. — *quod res*, "because the undertaking." — 10. *Desiderat*, "Stands in need of:" — *quid est, quod*, scil. *propter quod*, "What is there for which," "what reason is there why." — 11. *Si, quibus regionibus*, &c., arrange thus: *Si terminaret omnes suas cogitationes eisdem regionibus quibus* (Note 6 above) *spatium vite circumscriptum est*. X. 10. — 12. *In optimo quoque*, "In all good men." See above Note 2. — 13. *Noctes ac dies*, "By night and by day:" accusative of time how long.

**XII.—1.** *An vero—omnes qui*, &c.—*vidcamur* = *An vero est ut omnes qui*, &c., "But is it so that we all who, &c.—should appear to be of so narrow a mind:" — *ut, quum*, &c., "that, although." *Quum* is construed with *duxerimus*, *ut* with *arbitremur*. — 2. *Nonne multo malle debemus*, "Ought we not much more to wish:" — *consiliorum relinquere—effigiem*, &c., "to leave behind us a delineation of our enterprises drawn and finished." — 3. *Hæc (memoria) vero sive*, "But whether this (remembrance):" — *a meo sensu*, "from my consciousness:" — *ut sapientissimi homines*, such as Pythagoras and Socrates, who taught the immortality of the soul. — 4. *Quem amicorum videtis*, &c., "Which you see is attested both by the high standing of his friends, and the long continuance of their friendship." — 5. *Causa vero (est) ejusmodi quæ comprobetur*, "But his cause is such that it is established." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S., § 264. 1. —

6. *Humana*, "On the part of men?" — *divina*, "on the part of the gods." — 7. *Ut eum*, &c. This whole clause down to *videatur*, is the object of *petimus*, above; but *eum* is the object of *accipiatis* below; it is best to translate it, however, where it is, "that this man whom, &c.—you would receive," &c.: — *sic—ut*, "in such a way that:" — *domesticis periculi*. dative, the remote object of *daturum esse*, and referring to the conspiracy of Catiline. — 8. *Isque est eo numero, qui*, "And he belongs to the number of those, who,"—i. e., he was a poet. — 9. *Quæ de causa*, &c., arrange thus: *Confido, judices, ea, quæ, pro mea consuetudine, dixi de causa breviter simpliciterque, probata esse omnibus*. So in the next member—*spero ea quæ locutus sum*, &c. — 10. *Ab eo*, &c., "I am sure (that they have been so taken by him) who presides in this trial:" namely, his brother Quintus Cicero, who presided as prætor.

## ORATION FOR MARCUS MARCELLUS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THIS is not so much a speech in defence of Marcellus, as a panegyric on Julius Cæsar for having granted the pardon of the former, at the intercession of the senate. Marcellus belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and was adorned with all the virtues that could qualify him to sustain that dignity which he derived from his ancestors. He was educated for the bar, where he soon acquired great fame, and of all the orators of his time seems to have approached nearest to Cicero in the character of a complete speaker. "He had been one of the most violent opponents of the views of Cæsar. He had recommended in the senate that he should be deprived of the province of Gaul: he had insulted the magistrates of one of Cæsar's new-founded colonies, and had been present at Pharsalia, on the side of Pompey. After that battle he retired to Mitylene, where he was obliged to remain, being one of his adversaries to whom the conqueror refused to be reconciled. The senate, however, one day when Cæsar was present, with a united voice, and in an attitude of supplication, having implored his clemency in favor of Marcellus, and their request having been granted, Cicero, though he had resolved to preserve eternal silence, being moved by the occasion, delivered, in this oration, one of the highest-strained encomiums that has ever been pronounced."

"In the first part, he extols the military exploits of Cæsar; but shows that his clemency to Marcellus was more glorious than any of his other actions, as it depended entirely on himself, while fortune and his army had their share in the events of the war.—In the second part, he endeavors to dispel the suspicions which it appears Cæsar still entertained of the hostile intentions of Marcellus, and takes occasion to assure the

Dictator (Cæsar), that his life was most dear and valuable to all, since on it depended the tranquillity of the state, and the hopes of the restoration of the commonwealth." *Dunlop's Rom. Lit.*

Though this oration was made on the spur of the occasion, and abounds in oratorical exaggerations too glaring for the taste of modern times, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, it is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. It was delivered in the year of Rome 707, B. C. 46, and in the 61st of Cicero's age.

This oration continued to be not only of undisputed authenticity, but one of Cicero's most admired productions, till, in 1802, the question of its authenticity was raised by Wolf, and discussed by Wolf, Spalding, and Schütz, on the one side, and Wormius, Weiske, and Jacob, on the other. New light was thrown on this subject in 1817, when, among the discoveries of Maio, was found a collection of scholia on several of the orations of Cicero, and among them on that for Marcellus. The question of its authenticity is now considered as conclusively settled.

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#### NOTES.

1.—1. *Diuturni silentii*, &c., "Of the long silence which I had observed in these times." Ever since his return to Rome, after being pardoned by Cæsar for the part he had taken in favor of Pompey, now more than a year, Cicero had taken no active part in public affairs, till the generosity of Cæsar, in pardoning Marcellus at the request of the senate, now forced him to break this silence, in giving expression to his admiration of Cæsar's conduct, and joy at the favor shown to his friend. This is addressed partly to the senate, and partly to Cæsar, then present. — For this silence he assigns the reasons which follow. — 2. *Non timore aliquo*, "Not from any fear;" from that, his confidence in the justice and liberality of Cæsar had relieved him: — *partim dolore*, "partly from grief;" because of the situation of Marcellus, see below: — *partim verecundia*, "partly from shame," or the embarrassment he could not but feel, if he should speak in the senate, in the presence of Cæsar, against whom he so lately contended, and by whom he had been so generously pardoned. — 3. *Modum*, "Moderation:" — *tam denique*, &c. Arrange, *denique sapientiam* (object of *præterire*) *tam incredibilem ac pene divinam*: — *tacitus*, "in silence." B. § 98, Obs. 10.—

A. & S. § 205, Rem. 15. — 4. *Non illius solum*, scil. *vocem et auctoritatem*; for the construction of *illius et meam*, see B. § 30, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 278, Rem. 2. — 5. *Dolebam*, “I was accustomed to grieve.” B. § 44, ii., 1.—A. & S. § 145, ii., 1. — 6. *In eadem causa*. Both of them had espoused the cause of Pompey. — 7. *Interclusam*, “Which was shut against me.” — 8. *Et his omnibus, &c.*, “And to all these you have raised as it were a signal.” — 9. *Mihi quidem, &c.*, “By me, indeed, in many cases, and especially in my own case:” — *omnibus*, “by all,” supply *intellectum est*. — 10. *Commemoratis præsertim offensionibus*, “Especially after stating his offences,” i. e., several acts of opposition to Cæsar—he moved, in the senate, that his command in Gaul should be taken away, though he sought to retain it—he afterwards endeavored to get Cæsar proclaimed an enemy to his country,—in a public speech he called him a robber, and finally took the part of Pompey against him: — *doloribus*, “resentments.” — 11. *Fructum—maximum*, “The highest reward.” — 12. *Summo consensu senatus, &c.*, “The most perfect unanimity of the senate” (viz., in interceding for Marcellus), “and moreover your most important and noble decision,” viz., in granting their request: — *quod*, “and this,” B. § 99, Obs. 8, referring to the statement in the preceding sentence.

II.—1. *Nullius est*, “To no one belongs,” “no one possesses:” — *tanta copia—quæ—possit*, “so great a copiousness—as can.” B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 2. *Pace tua*, “With your permission:” — *in his*, “among these,” scil. exploits: — *ampliores*, “more glorious.” — 3. *Idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, &c.*, “And willingly to take it up in our frequent conversations, that all the exploits of our generals,” &c. The object of *ponere* and *usurare* is the dependent clause, *omnes—res gestas, &c.*, down to *lustrate sint*, and for this, *id* is the substitute after *usurare*: — *nec numero præliorum*, Cæsar is said to have fought 50 pitched battles; his conquests in Gaul alone, he said, cost one million two hundred thousand lives! — *nec varietate regionum*,—he had fought in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Asia—*nec celeritate conficiendi*. This is manifest from the number of his campaigns and battles.—Compare all this with what Cicero says of Pompey, *Or. pro Lege Manilia*, Chap. X. — 4. *Nec (= et non) vero disjunctissimas terras*, “And that in truth, lands widely separated.” — 5. *Quæ quidem ego, &c.*, “And indeed, if I did not acknowledge that these things are so great:” — *sed tamen sunt alia majora*, “but still there are other things greater.” He means the conduct of Cæsar in pardoning Marcellus. That this was really greater, in his judgment, he

goes on to show in what follows. — 6. *Verbis*, ‘In their remarks.’ — 7. *In armis*, ‘In military affairs.’ — 8. *At vero hujus gloriæ*, ‘But truly of this glory;’ namely, clemency and magnanimity in pardoning Marcellus. — 9. *Ex ista laude*, ‘Of this praise of thine.’ *Ista* here, and *istius* in the next sentence, are used with reference to the person addressed. They are the demonstratives of the second person. B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 23, ad fin. — 10. *Illa ipsa domina—Fortuna*, ‘Fortune, that very mistress.’ *Illa ipsa* conjoined express strong emphasis. — 11. *Neque ad consilium casus admittitur*, ‘Nor is chance ever admitted to your counsel.’ The force of *numquam* in the first clause, also belongs to the last; after *neque* it is here rendered by ‘ever.’

III.—1. *Immanitate barbaras*, &c., ‘Barbarous in their cruelty, not to be numbered for multitude, very distant in their localities.’ — 2. *Quæ non possit*, ‘That it cannot.’ B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 3. *Adversarium—non modo extollere jacentem*, ‘Not only to raise up a prostrate enemy;’—*præstantem*, &c.: — *cum summis viris*. B. § 123, Obs. 1. — 4. *Ejusmodi res*, ‘Things,’ i. e., ‘praises of this kind.’ — *obstrepi*, ‘to be drowned,’—‘prevented from being heard.’ — 5. *Aliquid factum (esse)*, ‘That any thing has been done’ (objective clause after *audimus*, &c.): — *in iracundia*, ‘in passion:’ — *quæ, natura*, ‘which, by nature,’ ‘naturally.’ — 6. *Te vero*, &c., arrange, *Vero quibus laudibus ejferemus te*: — *eos cernimus*, ‘We perceive to be such.’ B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 26. — 7. *Medius fidius (adjuvet)*, lit. ‘May Jupiter help me;’—*medius* = *me dius*, and *Dius* = *deus*, *fidius*, from *fides*, is a surname of Jupiter; *Dius fidius*, then, means ‘Jupiter, the god of honor,’ and the whole contains a strong asseveration of the truth of what is said, such as is expressed by *mehercule*—‘most assuredly.’ — 8. *Quod brevi tempore*, &c., ‘Because in a short time that authority (of the senate) will exist again, in these the seats of their ancestors, and of themselves.’ With *auctoritas* supply *senatus*, to which *suorum* and *suis* refer as equivalent to *senatorum*. For the connection *majorum et suis*, see as above, I. 4 and § 30, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 278, Rem. 2.

IV.—1. *Quem C. Marcelli*, &c., ‘When lately with you I witnessed the tears of C. Marcellus.’—In the senate, upon the mentioning of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius having (in tears) thrown himself at Cæsar’s feet, the whole senate went up, and made intercession for Marcellus. The request thus made was granted. — 2. *Pæne ab inte-*



*ritu vindicasti*, "You have saved almost from extinction." — 3. *Hæc enim res*, &c., "For this thing (viz., the pardoning of Marcellus) is the act of Cæsar alone." — 4. *Tu idem es et dux, et comes*, "You are yourself, both leader and attendant." — 5. *Opere et manu*, "By labor and the hand of man:" — *vetustas*, "time," "long duration." — 6. *Ita ut quantum*, &c., arrange, *Ita ut diuturnitas afferat laudibus tantum quantum*, &c. — 7. *Jam ante*, "Before this." — 8. *Vereor ut hoc intelligi auditu possit*, "I fear that this may not be understood on the hearing of it." After *vereor, ut* means "that not," B. § 140, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 7: — *perinde atque ipse cogitans sentio*, "just as I myself, reflecting upon it, feel it to be," i. e., "that my language may fail to express what I feel." — 9. *Quum ea quæ illa*, &c., "When you gave up to the conquered, those things which she (victory) had obtained for you," scil., the power and means to punish them at your pleasure. — 10. *Omnes victi occidissemus*, "We all being conquered might have fallen," i. e., "might have been put to death." Such were the ideas of warfare then entertained.

V.—1. *Quam late pateat*, "How widely it extends," scil., not to Marcellus only, but to himself, and others who took part with Pompey, and, in its influence, to the whole state. — 2. *Omnes enim*, "For all of us"—subject of *liberati sumus*; and is modified by the relative clause following: — *qui ad illa arma compulsi sumus*, "who were driven to that war." Cicero, from the beginning, was opposed to this civil contest, and exerted himself to prevent it: but when it did break out, from motives of friendship, as well as patriotism, he espoused the cause of Pompey: — *fato nescio quo*, "by some fate or other." — 3. *Etsi aliqua culpa*, &c., "Although we are chargeable with some degree of human infirmity:" — *a scelere certe*, &c., "we are absolved at least from intentional wickedness." — 4. *Reliquos amplissimos viros*, "Other most illustrious men," viz., who, as well as himself, had connected themselves with Pompey. — 5. *Hoc ipso in consessu*, "In this very assembly." — 6. *Non ille hostes induxit in curiam*, "He has not brought enemies into the senate"—enemies either to their country or to himself. For though they took the part of Pompey, he intimates it was from mistaken views of duty, but now the clemency of Cæsar had made them friends to him also. This representation contains quite as much of flattery and policy as of truth. — 7. *De pace audicendum*, "That proposals for peace should have been listened to." To this, Cæsar, it appears, was always inclined, but it was opposed by Pompey and his party: — *orationem*, "that the petition." — 8. *Pacis et togæ sociâ*, (B. § 107, R. ix.—A. & S. § 213) "in favor of peace." Two words of the same meaning are used strongly to

express the one thing, *peace*. So in the next clause, *belli atque armorum* — 9. *Privato officio, non publico*, “In a private, not a public capacity” — as a friend, not as a soldier. — 10. *Grati animi fidelis memoria*, &c., “The lasting remembrance of a grateful heart prevailed so far with me.” Cicero felt grateful to Pompey for the many favors he had received from him. — 11. *Quod quidem meum consilium*, “And indeed these views of mine:” — *in hoc ordine*, “in this order,” i. e., in the senate: — *re integra*, “before the war began,” lit., “the affair being untouched.” — 12. *Eadem sensi*, “I entertained the same views:” — *etiam cum capitis mei periculo*. Cicero declined the command of fifteen cohorts offered to him by Cato at Coreyra. This so enraged the younger Pompey, that he threatened his life,—a danger from which he was saved by the interference of Cato. See Or. pro Milone, Ch. XXV., Note 7. — 13. *Qui dubitet*, “As to doubt.” B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — *pacis auctores*, “the friends of peace,” viz., those on the side of Pompey, who were the advisers of peace: — *statim*, “from the first:” — *ceteris fuerit iratior*, “but he was more incensed against the others,” i. e., those who were bent on war.

VI.—1. *Hujus rei*, &c., “Of this thing I am a witness for Marcellus,” namely, that he was in favor of peace. — 2. *Nostri sensus*, “Our views,” the views of Marcellus and himself. — 3. *Quum—tum*, “Not only”—“but also:” — *certorum hominum*, “of certain men.” *Certus* has sometimes the meaning of *quidam* as here. — 4. *Quo*, “Wherefore.” — 5. *Causæ*, “The causes,” viz., of Cæsar and other generals. — 6. *Gladium vagina vacuum*, “The sword unsheathed,” B. § 107, R. xi.—A. & S. § 213, Rem. 1 (3). This was meant to be highly complimentary to Cæsar, that his victories in the field ended there, and were not, as too often happens, only the prelude to greater atrocities in the city. — 7. *Mortis vis*, “The violence of war:” — *non ira victoriæ*, “not the rage of victory:” — *ut (= ita ut)*, “so that:” — *dubitare quin*, “to doubt that.” *Quin* means *but that, that not*; but after words denoting *doubt*, and many expressions containing a negation, it means simply *that*: — *ex eadem acie*, “from the same army,” viz., that of Pompey. — 8. *Alterius vero partis*, “But in respect of the other party,” viz., Pompey’s. The genitive, by a Greek construction, instead of the accusative or ablative, B. § 128. See Greek Gr. § 157, R. xxxiii. “Respect wherein is expressed in the genitive:” — *nimis iracundam*, “with too much passion.” — 9. *Nec (= et non) quid quisque*, &c., “And said that they had to consider, not what each one thought, but where he had been (during the war).” — 10. *Ut*, as in No. 7, above: —

*etiam si pœnas a populo, &c.*, “though they exacted satisfaction from (i. e., inflicted punishment upon) the Roman people:” — *qui*, “since they” (the gods). B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — **11.** *Omnen spem salutis contulisse*, “To have referred all hope of safety.” — **12.** *Tam excellenti bono*, “So excellent a privilege:” — *quum—tum*, as before, No. 3. — **13.** *Virtuti*, “On your valor:” — *felicitati*, “on your good fortune.” — **14.** *Quæ non modo summa, &c.*, “Which I will venture to say are not only the greatest, but in truth, even the only goods.” — **15.** *Lapsis non cupiditate*, “Who have fallen not through ambition:” — *sed opinione officii*, “but from their view of duty:” — *et specie quadam rei publicæ*, “and with a sort of idea of (regard for) the public good.” *Rei publicæ* is here to be taken, as it sometimes is, in its literal sense, meaning, not “the state,” but “the public interest”—“the common weal.”

**VII.—1.** *Ad gravissimam querelam*, “To your most grievous complaint.” Though at the intercession of the senate, Cæsar pardoned Marcellus, yet he complained of his moroseness (*acerbitas*), that his feelings towards him were still hostile, and feared that he might still cherish designs against his life: see *Ep. ad Fam.* 4. 4. To remove these suspicions, and to show there could be no ground for them, is the object of Cicero in this part of his oration. — **2.** *Quam etsi spero, &c.*, “And though I hope it is groundless, yet I will never (seek to) lessen it by words (of mine).” — **3.** *Si in alterutro peccandum sit*, “If I have to err on one side or the other,” &c. — **4.** *Iste tam demens*, “The wretch so bereft of reason,” as to harbor designs against your safety. *Iste* here, as often, is used to express abhorrence or contempt. B. § 30, Obs. 3. 3d. —A. & S. § 207, Rem. 25. — **5.** *De tuisne*, “Is he one of your friends,” i. e., of your party. — **6.** *Qui una tecum fuerunt*, “Who were along with you (in the army):” — *ut, quo duce*, arrange, *ut non anteponat sue (vitæ), vitam hujus, quo duce, &c.* — **7.** *Nihil tui cogitant sceleris*, “Your friends entertain no thought of crime:” — *ne quid inimici (cogitant sceleris)*, “that your enemies do not.” — **8.** *Qui?* “Who are they?” — **9.** *Tantæ latebræ, &c.*, “Lurking-places and recesses so great.” — **10.** *Tam nihil cogitans*, “So reckless:” — *nec de sua, nec*, “either of his own, or.” For this use of *nec* after a negative, see B. § 134, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 277, Rem. 5. — *Qui non intelligat*. B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — **11.** *Et ex unius tua vita pendere (vitam) omnium*, “And that the life of all depends on the life of thee alone.” For *unius* in the genitive with *tua* see B. § 97, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 13. — **12.** *Eam consistere*, “That it depends.” — **13.** *Sceleris*

*stiam accedit, &c.*, "There is added a combination of crime and treason" — *si cupiat*, "(even) if he (the god) should desire it."

VIII.—1. *Sunt excitanda tibi*, "Are to be raised by you" (to their former state). B. § 126, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 225. iii. With an honest freedom, and, at the same time, with much address, Cicero here points out the necessity of restoring to their former prosperous condition the affairs of the state, now prostrated by the "shock of war," and intimates that while this work was in the hands of Cæsar, and could be accomplished by him alone, greater glory would accrue to him from this than from all his past victories. Well had it been for the fame of Cæsar, and for the state, if this advice had been followed. — 2. *Judicia*, "Courts of justice." It has long been a proverb, *inter arma silent leges*: — *fides*, "public credit:" — *propaganda suboles*, viz., by enacting and enforcing salutary laws and regulations, for encouraging marriage, and restraining licentiousness. Such was the *Lex Julia*, passed in the time of Augustus. — 3. *Omnia quæ dilapsa jam defluerunt, &c.*, "All those things which have already fallen to decay and perished (i. e., have become useless) must be secured." — 4. *Quin*, "That." VI. 7, above: — *quassata*, the allusion is to a ship battered by the storm. — 5. *Quibus*, "And these (wounds)." — 6. *Invitus audivi*, "I have heard with regret." The expression here referred to was probably used by Cæsar in reply to the application of the senate in behalf of Marcellus, when he expressed his belief that Marcellus might probably still entertain designs against his life. If so, he went on to say, it was now a matter of indifference to him, "he had lived long enough either for nature or for glory." — 7. *Si ita vis*, "If you will:" — *fortasse natura*, "for nature perhaps." This admission he modifies by *fortasse*. Cæsar was now 54 years old. Supply *vixisti*. — 8. *Patriæ certe parum*, "Certainly not long enough for your country"—which now so much needs your care. — 9. *Doctorum hominum = philosophorum*. The reference is to philosophers of the Stoic sect, who regarded death among things indifferent. — 10. *Sed tum id audirem*, "But then I might admit that," viz., *tibi te satis vixisse*. — 11. *A perfectione*, "From the completing:" — *quæ cogitas*, "which you have in view," lit., "which you think of." — 12. *Quid, si istud (vita)*, "What if that portion of your life (which is past)." — 13. *Parum . . . gloriam magnam*, "Inconsiderable fame,"—"fame not great enough." — 14. *Devictis adversariis*. B. § 49. 8.—A. & S. § 257, Rem. 5. — *vide*, "take heed."

IX.—1. *Hæc igitur, &c.*, "This character, then, is yet left for you (to

enact"): "this act remains (to be performed)." The allusion is to the drama. On the stage of life, Cæsar had already appeared as a warrior and conqueror, and had well played his part. He was now called to appear as a statesman and a patriot, in settling on a sure basis the institutions of his country. On this "last act," especially, would his future fame depend. — 2. *Eaque tu in primis, &c.*, "And that you, among the first, may enjoy it in tranquillity and retirement." — 3. *Quid enim est omnino, &c.*, "For what after all is this same (living) long, in which there is something last;" (i. e., to which there is an end): *quod quum venit*, "and when this has come." B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 4. *Quia postea nulla (scil., voluptas) est futura*. The Epicureans, to whose philosophy Cæsar was inclined, denied the immortality of the soul. — 5. *His angustiis*, "With these narrow limits;" i. e., with this short span of human life. — 6. *Nec vero hæc, &c.*, "Nor truly is this to be considered thy life." Some editions have *dicenda*, "to be called:" — *quæ corpore et spiritu continetur*, "which is limited by (begins and ends with) the body and the breath of life." — 7. *Huic (scil. vitæ quæ vigebit, &c.) tu inservias . . . oportet*, "To this it behoves you to devote your energies." B. § 113, Obs. 10. — 8. *Audientes et legentes imperia, &c.*, "When they hear and read of your commands, &c." — 9. *Magna dissensio*, "Great difference of opinion." — 10. *Alii*, "Some:" — *alii fortasse aliquid requirent*, "Others will perhaps miss something"—will seek for, but not find it. — 11. *Ut illud fati fuisse videatur, &c.*, "That the former (viz., his prosperous career hitherto) may appear to have been the work of fate, the latter (that which he is now urged to do) the result of wisdom." B. § 108, Rule xii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 8 (3). — 12. *Servi (Imper. of servio)*, "Show respect." — 13. *Haud scio an incorruptius*, "Perhaps more justly:" — *haud scio an*, lit. "I know not whether" = "perhaps," "probably." — 14. *Quidam*, "Some," namely, the Epicurean philosophers, who deny the immortality of the soul.

X.—1. *Diversæ fuerunt*, "Were various," i. e., during the civil contest: — *dissidebamus*, "we (citizens) differed." Some taking the side of Pompey, others that of Cæsar. — 2. *Erat enim obscuritas quædam*, "Moreover, there was a degree of obscurity" about the case, rendering it difficult to know which was in the right. In this way does he frame a sort of apology for the followers of Pompey. — 3. *Clarissimos duces*, viz., Cæsar and Pompey. — 4. *Perfuncta est*, "It has ended," i. e., has come to the end of—is now free from: — *fatali*, "destructive," "ill-fated:" — *odium suum*, "his resentment:" — *fortuna*, "by his success." — 5. *Nec qui*, "And who would not:" — *omnes eosdem*, "all those."

Of the enemies of Cæsar, it is said none perished except in battle but only Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and the younger L. Cæsar. — 6. *Animum armatum*, "A hostile spirit." — 7. *Omnia fracta dissensio est*, "All discord is quashed:" — *unum velint*, "should unite their wishes;" lit., "should wish for one thing." — 8. *Qua quum antea*, &c., "Which you expressed (lit. used) both formerly, and especially this day." — 9. *Omnes*, i. e., *nos omnes*. — 10. *Quod de me ipse sentio*, "What I think myself," i. e., my own unbiased sentiments. By a common usage of *ipse*, it is here construed in the nominative with *ego*, the subject of *sentio*, but is translated as if in the ablative with *me*, scil. *me ipso*. B. § 98, Exc. 5.— A. & S. § 207, Rem. 28. — 11. *Subesse aliquid*, "That something lies concealed." — 12. *Excubias et custodias*, "Guards by night and by day:" — *oppositus*, "the interposition," "the opposing."

XI.—1. *Maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus*, "We all return you very great thanks:" — *maiores etiam habemus*, "We feel even more thankful" (than we can express). *Gratias agere* means "to give thanks,"—*gratias habere*, "to be thankful." — 2. *Non est stantibus*, &c., "It is not necessary for all standing up to speak," i. e., to stand up and speak. When a senator spoke to the senate he rose, and stood while he was speaking, but when he only assented to another's opinion, he continued sitting. — 3. *A me certe dici volunt*, "They wish (their sentiments) to be spoken by me at least." — 4. *Non . . . de salute*, "Not for the safety." — 5. *Quod autem summæ*, &c. This intricate sentence may be arranged thus: *autem cum sollicitudine, cura, labore, tamdiu quamdiu dubitatum est de salute illius, præstiterim id quod est summæ benevolentia (quæ mea [scil. benevolentia] erga illum semper nota fuit omnibus, ut vix ecerem Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, præter cum quidem, nemini) certe debeo præstare (id) hoc tempore, liberatus magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus.* — 6. *Quæ mea*, scil. *benevolentia*, "And this friendship of mine." — 7. *Sic*, "In this manner:" — *ut*, "inasmuch as," "seeing that:" — *omnibus me rebus*, &c., "while I have not only been preserved safe by you in all respects, but also highly honored: — *tamen maximus cumulus accessit*, &c.

Marcellus, after being pardoned by Cæsar, left Mitylene, and had come as far as the Piræus or harbor of Athens, intending to pursue his journey to Rome by sea on the following day; but in the night he was killed by his friend and client Magius, for what cause is not known. The murderer immediately stabbed himself with the same poniard.

## ORATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of the year A. U. 703, B. C. 50, Q. Ligarius had gone to Africa (the territory of Carthage) as legate of the prætor C. Considius Longus, and having made himself popular with all (*civibus et sociis*), he became, on the withdrawal of Considius, provisional governor and commander of the province. At that moment the war between Cæsar and Pompey broke out, and the inhabitants of the province of Africa, most of whom belonged to the party of Pompey, called upon Q. Ligarius, to put himself at their head. Ligarius refused, as Cicero explains it, for the purpose of remaining neutral; and it fortunately happened that P. Atius Varus, a decided Pompeian, who had just been defeated by the troops of Cæsar at Auximum in Picenum, arrived in Africa with a view to take the supreme command in that province against Cæsar. In this he succeeded easily enough, and the more so, as he was sufficiently known in the province, having been governor of it a short time before. Q. Ligarius remained under him in his former capacity of legate, and resided at Utica. But soon after there arrived at Utica, L. Aelius Tubero, the lawful successor of C. Considius, who had by lot received Africa for his province; but he was not admitted either at Utica, or in any other part of Africa, and was not even allowed to put on shore his sick son Q. Tubero, the accuser of Ligarius. It may be that Q. Ligarius, who was staying at Utica, carried into effect this harsh proceeding of Varus against the Tuberos. The latter (*viz.*, the Tuberos) then went to Pompey himself, and after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalus, B. C. 48, they were pardoned by the victorious Cæsar. Ligarius still remained in Africa with the Pompeian party, which offered such a desperate resistance to Cæsar, that after their subjugation, he felt little inclined to extend to them the pardon which he had granted

to the other Pompeians. Yet he allowed Ligarius to live, though without permitting him to return to Italy. Ligarius, with many other Pompeians, remained in exile in Africa, although his relations and friends exerted their influence with Cæsar, to allow him to return. Now in order to render this return forever impossible, Q. Tubero came forward with an accusation against Ligarius, in which he charged him with *vis*—that is, with violent and unlawful resistance to Cæsar. It is not improbable that Q. Tubero was led to this step by the ill treatment he himself had experienced on attempting to land in Africa; and Cicero, in fact, views the matter in this light; for he tells him plainly that he was not concerned about the offence committed against Cæsar, but about the insult offered to himself (see Chap. X.). Cicero's defence is particularly successful by his skillfully avoiding to mention the most important point of the accusation, namely, the obstinate resistance of Q. Ligarius to Cæsar, by describing Ligarius's residence in Africa as a simple and undoubted fact, indeed, but as an absolute necessity; by putting the Tuberos on a level with Ligarius, and as standing in need of the same generosity on the part of Cæsar; and lastly by appealing again and again to the magnanimity and mercy of Cæsar, which had been shown to the orator himself, to the Tuberos, and to many others. The whole oration breathes such a freshness, the principal fact of the accusation is avoided with such a happy irony, and the opponents of his client are so successfully and completely beaten by this same irony, and the bitter insinuations which are stealthily levelled at them, that the speech for Ligarius is justly considered as one of the most worthy of admiration. Cæsar himself, however he may have felt towards Ligarius, pardoned him and allowed him to return to Rome. Ligarius repaid this generous act of Cæsar with ingratitude, for soon after, he joined the conspiracy against his benefactor. During the terrible scenes of the triumvirate he died a violent death, like most of the conspirators.

Cicero delivered this speech in the Forum B. C. 46, in the 61st year of his age. His client was of course not present.

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#### NOTES.

I.—1. *Novum crimen*, &c., "A new and hitherto unheard of crime,—that Q. Ligarius was in Africa." The pleasant irony with which this craction begins consists in the truth and trifling nature of the fact itself. Such an accusation he alleges is surely new. L. Aelius Tubero, the father of the



accuser, was connected by marriage with the *gens Tullia*, and therefore Cicero calls him *propinquus meus*, "my kinsman." — 2. *Idque C. Pansa, &c.*, "And C. Pansa, a man of distinguished talents . . . has ventured to own it." C. Pansa was Cæsar's intimate friend, and consul with Hirtius, B. C. 43. — 3. *Paratus enim veneram, ut—abuterer ignoratione tua*, "For I had come prepared to take advantage of (lit. abuse) your ignorance:" scil., by denying the fact. — 4. *Sed quoniam, &c.*, "But since the secret (*id quod latebat*) has been discovered:" — *confitendum*, "we must, I think, confess it." All this, it is obvious, is a pleasant sort of railery, intended to turn the whole subject of the accusation into ridicule. — 5. *Ut id integrum jam non esset*, "That that (namely, to deny the fact) should not now be in my power:" — *omissaque controversia, &c.*, "debate being laid aside, my speech must now be addressed to your clemency." — 6. *Se in ea parte fuisse*, scil. Africa: — *qua te, qua, &c.*, "in which you, in which your father—was." For the accusative *te* and *patrem* here, observe, that when a relative clause has the same verb as a proposition expressed by an infinitive clause with which it is connected, the verb, if expressed, has its subject in the nominative; as, *se in ea parte fuisse qua TU FUISTI*. But if the verb in the relative clause is not expressed, but left to be supplied in the mind from the preceding clause, its subject is in the accusative, by a sort of attraction with the accusative subject in the preceding clause; as, *se in ea parte fuisse, qua TE—qua PATREM*, as here. In either way the translation is the same. This construction occurs whether the discourse is direct or indirect; or, as in the present instance, both together. — 7. *C. Considius* was proprætor in Africa, B. C. 50. He espoused the cause of Pompey. — 8. *Quum diu recusans, &c.*, "When by long refusing he had accomplished nothing." B. § 146, Obs. 6, ad fin. — *invitus*, "unwillingly," (B. § 98, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 15)—because the office ought properly to have been given to the quæstor of Considius. — 9. *Bellum*, "The war," viz., between Cæsar and Pompey. — 10. *Quod*, "That this war." Acc. subject of *geri*. — 11. *Cupiditate inconsiderata*, "Owing to thoughtless party zeal." — 12. *Primo salutis, &c.*, "At first they (i. e., *cives et socii*) sought a leader for their protection, afterwards also to carry out their wishes," lit., "of their safety—of their inclination." — 13. *Domum spectans*, "Longing for home." — 14. *P. Atius Varus* had been prætor in Africa the year before; hence the pluperfect *obtinuerat*. — *ad eum, &c.*, "the people immediately hastened to him from all quarters." — *nullo publico consilio*, "by no public decree." — 15. *Parduntur conquievit*, "Obtained respite for a little."

II.—1. *Adhuc*, "Up to this point," viz., in the series of events he was relating. — 2. *Pacatissima*, "In the profoundest peace." — 3. *Ut ei pacem esse expediret*, "That the continuance of peace was advantageous to him." Properly, *pacem esse* is the subject of *expediret*. B. § 113, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 209, Rem. 3 (5), ad fin. — 4. *Num igitur remansio?* &c., "Ought then his remaining? Much less so:" — *non turpem voluntatem*, "no dishonorable motive," lit. "wish" (scil. acting as a motive): — *necessitatem etiam*, "necessity even;"—*etiam* renders *necessitatem* more emphatic.—The necessity pleaded arose from the earnest entreaty that on the departure of Considius he would, for the time, take charge of the province in his place. — 5. *Ergo hæc duo tempora*, &c., "During these two periods, then, he was free from reproach:" — *efflagitatus*, "being importuned." — 6. *Tertium tempus*, &c., "The third period is that in which he remained in Africa after the coming of Varus."—On the arrival of Varus his provisional administration ceased, for Varus, as mentioned Chap. I., undertook the supreme command of the province. As there was no crime before this, Cicero pleads there was no crime here, since his remaining was matter of necessity, arising from the breaking out of the war, and not of choice. — 7. *An ille . . . maluisset esse?* "Would he have chosen rather to be:" — *si potuisset*, "if he had been able." — 8. *Quum ipsa legatio*, &c., "When his government itself was full of grief and anxiety:" — *aquo animo*, "in an easy state of mind." — 9. *Alienæ a te*, "Unfriendly to you." — 10. *Qua fide*, "With what confidence" (in you, Cæsar): — *prodo meam*, i. e., *qua fide prodo meam causam*. — 11. *O elementiam!* &c., "Admirable clemency!" (viz., of Cæsar) and worthy to be honored with the praise of all, with public proclamation, (to be perpetuated) by written records and monuments. — 12. *Defendit*, "Pleads." — 13. *Nec, quid tibi*, &c., "Nor does he fear what may occur to you concerning himself, while you hear him pleading for another:" — *extimescere*, means "to begin to dread." *reformidare*, "to fear greatly."

III.—1. *Quam non reformidem*, "How undaunted I am." The confidence here expressed is intended to be complimentary to the generosity and magnanimity of Cæsar, in order to induce him to its further exercise in favor of Ligarius. — 2. *Quanta lux*, &c., "How the light of your liberality," &c. — 3. *Voce contendam*, "I will raise my voice," lit. "I will strive with my voice." — 4. *Judicio ac voluntate*, "From deliberation and choice." — 5. *Ex Ægypto*, "From Egypt," whither he had followed Pompey, and where he remained to prosecute the Alexandrine war. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero no longer took

any part against Cæsar in Italy, but through his friends applied for pardon. At length the letter here referred to came, restoring him to his former condition; or, as he here expresses it: — *ut essem idem qui fuisscm*, “that I should be what I had been,” viz., before the commencement of the civil war. Just before that, B. C. 51, Cicero, as proconsul, had carried on a successful war in Cilicia against the Parthians, his soldiers had saluted him as *imperator*, and the senate had granted him the honor of a triumph, and the laurelled fasces. As, however, the disturbances of the time did not allow him to celebrate the triumph, Cicero retained these *fasces laureati*, which belonged to an *imperator*, and Cæsar allowed him to do so. — 6. *Esse alterum passus est*, “Suffered me to be a second *imperator*,” in name at least. — 7. *A quo*, “From whom,” i. e., “by whose permission.” — 8. *Ut, qui*, i. e., *Ut ego qui*, &c., “That I, who hesitate not to speak of my own conduct (as truth requires), have no fear to speak of the conduct of Ligarius (which is so much less offensive).” — 9. *Cujus . . . . . industriæ gloriæque*, “Whose application and love of fame.” — 10. *Ad meum aliquem fructum redundare*, “May result in some advantage to myself.” — 11. *Quis putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa?* “Who thinks it a crime, that he was in Africa?” — *Nempe is, qui et ipse*, &c., “That very man, forsooth (Tubero), who even himself wished to be in that same Africa,” &c. — 12. *Qui sensus erat armorum tuorum?* “What was then the meaning of thy arms?” The impression made by this address and these questions upon the audience, and especially upon Tubero and Cæsar, is said to have been overwhelming, and is often alluded to by the ancients: — *iisdem in armis fui*, “I, too, was in arms on the same side.” Cicero, however, was not present at the battle of Pharsalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhæchium.

IV.—1. *Egimus*, “Did we aim at:” — *hic*, viz., Cæsar. — 2. *Te acuet oratio*, “Shall the speech, &c.,—stir you up?” — *eorum ipsorum*, “of these very men” (the accusers). — 3. *Nonnihil equidem—desidero*, “Truly I miss in some degree.” — 4. *Genus hoc causæ quod esset*, “What sort of a cause this was:” — *maluisset = magis voluisset*: — *quovis (modo) quam isto modo*, “in any other way rather than in this of yours.” *Isto* is used with reference to *te*. B. § 31, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 207, Rem. 23. — 5. *Arguis fatentem*, “You accuse a man who pleads guilty:” — *paren*, “as good.” — 6. *Admirabilia*, “Strange,” “unaccountable.” — 7. *Non habet eam vim*, “Has not this for its object.” — 8. *Externi isti mores*, &c., “These foreign manners of yours are accustomed to push the resentment,” &c. — 9. *Nam quid*.

*agis aliud?* "For what else are you aiming at," viz., by this accusation, than the death of Ligarius. *Nam*, introduces an argument in proof of the affirmation above, *Non habet*, &c. — 10. *Exsulat*, "He lives in exile." From fear of Cæsar, Ligarius remained at Utica in voluntary exile. — 11. *Non tu ergo*, &c., "You wish then to deprive him, not of his country, but of his life." To this conclusion does he bring the argument. — 12. *At istud ne apud eum*, &c., "But no one in this manner ever pursued that course of yours (*istud*) even before that dictator," &c. — Namely, L. Cornelius Sulla, to whom no one ever proposed to put another to death, because he himself sacrificed so many, of his own accord. — 13. *Præmiis etiam invitabat*, "He was even accustomed to invite murders by offering rewards." B. § 44, ii. 1.—A. & S. § 145, ii. 1. Two talents were offered for the head of a proscribed person, and the number of victims was enormous—4,000 citizens, and 2,000 senators and equites having been murdered in this manner: — *quæ tamen crudelitas*, "this cruelty however." — 14. *Ab hoc eodem*, "By this same man," viz., Cæsar. This investigation was made by Cæsar in the capacity of Ædile, seventeen years after the dictatorship of Sulla, viz., A. U. 689, B. C. 64.

V.—1. *Istud*, "This" (which you say), viz., the death of Ligarius: — *domum*, "family:" — *nomen*, "race." The repetition of *novi* in this sentence gives it both animation and emphasis. — 2. *Studia generis*, "The love of virtue, of humanity, of learning in many and useful arts, for which your race and family are distinguished," &c. Here *studia* governs *virtutis*, &c., as genitives of the *object*; and these again govern *generis*, &c., as genitives of the *subject*. B. § 106, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 10. The family of Tubero belonged to the Ælian gens. — 3. *Res enim eo spectat*, "For the affair (i. e., this prosecution) has this aspect:" — *ea pæna*, "with that punishment," viz., his exile in Utica. — 4. *Quæ alia (pæna) est igitur?* — 5. *Quod nos domi*, &c., arrange, *Pugnabis ne impetremus id quod petimus domi*, scil., at Rome, in contrast with the condition of Ligarius in exile: — *ad pedes* (scil., *Cæsaris*) — 6. *Si, quum hoc domi faceremus*, "If, when we were thus engaged at his (Cæsar's) house." — 7. *Cave te fratrum misereat*, "Beware how you have compassion on brothers." B. § 113, Exc. ii.—A. & S. § 215 (1). — 8. *Id a te in foro oppugnari*, &c., "That that should be opposed by you in the forum, which we implored at his house." — 9. *Perfugium misericordiæ*, &c., "That you should take away the refuge of mercy," viz., which the wretched find in the clemency of Cæsar. — 10. *Fortuna*, "Prosperity:" — *quantam tu per te—obtines*, "as you naturally

possess,"—lit., "through yourself," without the interference of others: — *redundaret*, "would abound." — 11. *Quum etiam de victis reperiantur*, "When even among the vanquished some such are found:" — *ignosci*, "that pardon should be extended." Used impersonally. — 12. *Li, quibus*, referring to the Tuberos. — 13. *Si honesto*, &c., "If we would secure safety to an unhappy citizen, by a laudable and good-natured falsehood:" — *hominis non esset*, "it would not be the part of a man:" — *ejus*, viz., Tubero. — 14. *Aliud—aliud*, "One thing,"—"another." — 15. *Hec nec hominis*, &c., "This language is fit neither for a man to utter, nor for a man to hear,"—i. e., "It is not becoming the dignity of a man either to utter, or to listen to such language:" — *qua qui apud te utitur*, "and he who uses this language in your presence:" — *quam extorquebit tuam*, "than he will by violence wrest yours (from you)."

VI.—1. *Aditus* (scil., *ad causam*), "Opening," "commencement:" — *postulatio*, "declaration." — 2. *Quin admiratus sis*, "That you wonder:" — *quod*, "that:" — *afferret*, "should bring a charge." — 3. *Isto enim nomine*, &c., "For (introducing a reason for the question) that cause (viz., of Pompey) has never hitherto been called by the name you give it" (viz., *seclus*): — *qui durius*, "those who speak rather severely:" — *gravissime*, "most severely." — 4. *Nostri mali*, "Of our misfortune." The term *nostri* includes all the adherents of Pompey—the Tuberos and himself among the rest: — *fatalis*, "destined," "appointed by fate," of course unavoidable. To extenuate the criminality of the Pompeians, he ascribes their course to fate: — *improvidas*, "short-sighted." — 5. *Liccat esse miseros*, "Permit us to be wretched."—That is bad enough, without being branded as criminals: — *qui occiderunt*, "who have fallen (in battle)." — 6. *Fuerint cupidi*, "Let it be said they were ambitious:" — *carere*, "to be free from." — 7. *Aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt*, &c., "Or what else did that army of yours intend to do, but to ward off insult from you." The insult referred to was, recalling him from Gaul before his command had expired, requiring him to disband his army, to stand in person for the consulship when he applied to be appointed in his absence, and instead of granting him the honor of a triumph, for which he applied, insisting on his giving an account of his administration: — *egit*, "have in view." — 8. *Quum pacem esse cupiebas*, "When you desired there should be peace," namely, previous to crossing the Rubicon. Previous to this Cæsar professed, especially to Cicero, a desire for an accommodation, but there are not wanting reasons to doubt his sincerity. — 9. *Ut tibi conveniret*, "That you might form an alliance." — 10. *Ut scelera-*

*tum*, "As a villain." — *incolumi dignitate*, "with dignity unimpaired." — 11. *Secessionem*, "A secession;"—a soft term for defection or revolt. — 12. *Utrisque* (abl. absolute), "Men on both sides:" — *partim consiliis*, &c., "some with good intentions, others through party zeal." — 13. *Principum*, "Of the leaders," viz., Cæsar and Pompey: — *non par fortasse*, &c. (supply *dignitas*), "not so perhaps was the dignity of those who followed them." Pompey was supported by the senate, Cæsar by the people: — *nisi armatus*, "unless armed," i. e., in open and honorable warfare. See Marcellus X., Note 5. In this respect the contrast between Cæsar and Sulla was very great. See above IV., 13.

VII.—1. *Ad nostram (causam)*, viz., the cause of Ligarius: — *Utrum*, "which of the two,"—the subject of *fuisse*, and referring to the following clauses. — 2. *Poteramusne*, (scil., *non venire?*) "Could we avoid going?" To this Cicero replies,—*nullo modo*, "by no means." He does not blame Tubero for going to Africa; this is not the point; he blames him because he improperly accuses Ligarius for being in Africa, for which he was certainly not more blameworthy than Tubero himself, who tried to get there, but was prevented. — 3. *Eo tempore*, "At that time," namely, before the breaking out of the civil war: — *qui noluit*, "who did not choose to do so," i. e., unless he chose to do so. The difference between the two was simply this: Ligarius went to Africa in obedience to the senate, when to obey was necessary—Tubero, when to obey was optional. — 4. *Reprehendo igitur?* &c., "Do I blame you then? Not in the least." — 5. *Ut, quibus rebus*, &c., "That you should blame in others the very things of which you glory in yourselves." — 6. *Tuberonis sors*, &c., "Tubero's province was assigned to him."—i. e., L. Tubero, the father. The names of those who were to be sent as governors into the provinces were put into an urn, and drawn out by a boy (hence *sors*). L. Tubero obtained his lot by a previous decree of the senate. — 7. *Propter omnes necessitudines*, "By means of the connections of every kind." — 8. *Militiæ contubernales*, "Tent-fellows (mess-mates) abroad." The centuries were divided into *contubernia*, consisting of ten men, who occupied one tent. Those then who belonged to one tent were called *contubernales*, and were usually intimate friends: — *affines*, "connected by marriage." — 9. *Quidam*, "A certain person." For some reason the name is not given; some think Pompey, others M. Cato, others M. Marcellus is intended. — 10. *Quorum erat una causa*, "Who were engaged in the same cause:" — *jam occupatum*, "already taken possession of," viz., by Atius Varus. — 11. *Hinc—crimen, vel ira potius*, "Hence your charge, or resentment

rather." — 12. *Si crimen est ullum voluisse*, &c., "If there is any thing criminal in wishing, it is no less a crime that you wished to obtain possession of Africa, than that some one else wished rather to obtain it himself." In this sentence there is a great variety of reading and interpretation. That of Orellius, here given, on the whole appears to be the best: — *arcem*, "the strength," i. e., "the strongest:" — *natum*, "formed," "fitted," "destined,"—as appeared in the Punic wars. — 13. *Quoquo modo se illud habet*, "However that may be." — 14. *Hæc querela vestra quid valet*, "But what avails this complaint of yours," namely, *Recepti in provinciam non sumus*. They were prevented from landing by order of Varus. See Introduction. With *essetis* supply *recepti*.

VIII.—1. *Quo*, "Whither." — 2. *Non dubitabo apud ipsum te*, &c., "I will not hesitate, even before thee (Cæsar) whose interest it was (B. § 113, Exc. i.) that he should do that, to censure in the severest terms his intention" (as being a treacherous one). — 3. *Ea res*, "Such a proceeding." — 4. *Quam ne Tubero*, &c., "As lest Tubero should think that he would have done that which he never thought of doing." — 5. *Huic victoriæ*, scil., of Pharsalus: — *rex*, viz., Juba, king of Numidia, who was an old friend of Pompey; whence he is called *inimicus huic causæ*, i. e., to Cæsar: — *aliena voluntas*, "the feeling (of the people) hostile," viz., Cæsar: — *conventus firmi atque magni*, "the bodies (of Roman citizens friendly to Pompey, and congregated there for purposes of business) were great and powerful." — 6. *Injuria*, "Injustice." — 7. *Cujus auctoritatem secuti*, "Acknowledging whose authority:" — *Cæsaris causa*, "on Cæsar's account." — 8. *Quæ est ergo?* &c., "What sort of complaint is this then (to make) to Cæsar?" i. e., "With what face can you make such a complaint to Cæsar?" — 9. *Atque in hoc quidem*, &c., "And in this indeed, though false, I will give you leave to boast, if you please, that you intended to deliver up the province to Cæsar." — 10. *Qui vos privaverit*, "Since he has deprived you." B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8.

IX.—1. *Constantiam*, "The perseverance." All this down to *abhorrebant* is keen irony. — 2. *A te*, i. e., *laudari a te*. B. § 126, Obs. 2.—A. & S. 248, i. — 3. *Nescio an*, "Perhaps." See *Pro Marcello*, IX. Note 13. — 4. *Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset*, "For who (lit., what individual) would have done that thing?" *Istud* is here used to express contempt. — 5. *Magni ejusdem animi*, &c., "That would be the act of some great mind, and of such a man as no indignity," &c. B.

§ 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 6. *Ut enim*, “For although:” — *quæ nequaquam fuerunt*, “which certainly was not the case:” lit., “which were by no means (equal).” — 7. *Hoc certe*, &c., “This advantage undoubtedly belonged to Tubero:” — *quod*, “that:” — *justo cum imperio*, “with a legal command,” i. e., a command authorized by the senate, whereas that of Varus was usurped. — 8. *Hinc*, “Hence,” “from this,” namely Africa, his own province: — *iratus*, “angry,” scil., with the Pompeian party: — *in eam ipsam causam*, &c., “to that very party by which he had been injuriously rejected,” viz., in Africa.—The preceding part of this chapter is addressed to Cæsar; what follows is addressed to Tubero. — 9. *Quid?* i. e., *Quid tunc fiebat*, “What then?” This question Cicero answers ironically, as follows, to *abhorrebant*: — *ista res*, “that affair,” scil., your rejection from Africa: — *ejus*, scil., *Pompeii*: — *tantummodo in præsidiis eratis*, &c., “you were only in the camp (not in the battle). But your minds were averse to the cause (of Pompey).” All this is spoken ironically. — 10. *An*, “Or.” This word introduces the second member of an interrogatory, the first of which is to be supplied in the mind, thus: “Was this the case?” *An—omnes—tenebamur*, “Or—were we all possessed?” &c.: — *nec in vobis*, “and not in you.” In this sentence the readings are exceedingly various. That of Ernesti, here adopted, seems on the whole the most simple and satisfactory. — 11. *Pacis auctor*, “A promoter of peace.” In the beginning of this controversy Cicero had exerted himself to prevent a civil war. He had written to Cæsar and spoken to Pompey on the subject, but his efforts were made in vain: — *aciem*, “the army in battle array.” — 12. *Tu certe præcipue*, scil., *vincere volebas*, “You, without doubt, were especially so:” — *qui venisses*, “since you had come.” B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8: — *Ut nunc se res habet*, “As the matter now stands” (lit., has itself). This form of expression is a Græcism: — *quin hanc salutem anteponas*, &c., “that you prefer your present safety to that victory,” i. e., the victory of Cæsar over Pompey at Pharsalia, with which, as an adherent of Pompey, he, of course, could not be pleased.

X.—1. *Vos constantiæ pœniteret*. B. § 113, Exc. ii.—A. & S. § 215. 1, and § 229, Rem. 6. — 2. *An (injuriæ) rei publicæ*, “Or the wrongs of your country.” — 3. *In illa causa*, scil., the cause of Pompey. — 4. *Qui—putetis*, “In thinking,” “seeing that (or, because) you think.” B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — 5. *Num tibi videor*, “Do I seem to you,” i. e., “Do you think that I,” &c. — 6. *Ad unam summam referri*, &c., “To be referred (i. e., to have reference) to one point, either



your humanity," &c. These genitives are exegetic of *summam*, in a sort of apposition with it. B. § 97, Exc. i.—A. & S. § 204, Rem. 6. — 7. *Egi*, "I have pleaded:" — *et quidem tecum*, &c., "and even with you, while the course of your honors kept you in the forum." Cæsar was distinguished as an orator, as well as a general. Quinctilian says of him, *codem animo dixit quo bellavit*, and intimates that if he had devoted himself to the bar he would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Those among the Romans who aspired to dignity and honor, applied themselves to pleading causes, and defending the innocent and helpless in the forum, as the surest way to popularity, and hence to power and influence in the state. In this way Cæsar occupied himself from his 21st year (when he accused Cn. Dolabella of extortion in his province of Macedonia), till his 39th year. This is called here *ratio honorum*. — 8. *Si unquam posthac*, scil., *tale quid commiserit*, then supply *ne ignoscite*. — 9. *Apud parentem sic agi solet*, "Thus we are accustomed to plead with a parent:" — *ad judices*, "but before the judges (we are accustomed to plead thus):" — *falsi testes*, "the witnesses are false:" — *fictum erimen*, "the charge is groundless." — 10. *Ne hæc quidem*, &c., "I do not even bring forward those proofs which might perhaps be successful even before a judge." — 11. *Profectus, relictus*, &c., with these words supply *est*. — 12. *Ad parentem*, meaning Cæsar, who is thus delicately complimented as the father of his country. — 13. *Arroganter*, i. e., *arroganter ago*, "I am guilty of arrogance." — 14. *Mihi*, "To me," scil., who have been an adherent of Pompey, and your enemy: — *locus*, "room," i. e., "opportunity;" or, "permission."

XI.—1. *Vidi enim*, "For I have seen." *Enim* introduces the reason here given for what is said in the preceding sentence. — 2. *Gratiosiores esse*, "Are more acceptable to (have more influence with) you:" — *neque*, "and—not:" — *necessarius*, means one particularly united by blood, or by friendship and service: — *sed quam illius*, "but how much (he is the friend) of him." — 3. *Itaque*, "And accordingly," i. e., from your regard to friendship manifested not in words but in deeds: — *tu quidem*, "you yourself for example:" — *beatiore*, "richer." Of Cæsar's liberality, Sallust says, Cat. 54, *nilil denegare quod dono dignum esset*. — 4. *Quod soles*, "Which you are accustomed (to do)," or more briefly, "as usual." — 5. *Tibi probatissimos*, "Highly approved by you." B. § 126, R. xxxiii.—A. & S. § 225, ii. Though the participle *probatissimos* is here compared (B. § 49. 3.) it still retains its verbal character. — From what is here said it is probable that Ligarius was of the Sabine race, a people celebrated in Italy for their bravery, and for their simple

and upright manners. — 6. *Hujus T. Brocchi*, "Of T. Brocchus here." The use of *hujus, hanc, hunc*, in this connection shows that the persons spoken of were present, and by their presence adding force to the appeal in behalf of Ligarius. T. Brocchus was his uncle: — *squaloremque ipsius*, "and his dejected appearance." *Squalor* means the neglected appearance of those in distress. — 7. *Tibi*, see ref. Note 5: — *uno illo cæsulante*, "while that one (brother) is in banishment." B. § 146, Obs. 9. — A. & S. § 257, Rem. 1. — 8. *Germanitas*, "Their fraternal relation." The arrangement, as well as the repetition of words in this sentence, is worthy of notice, as rendering the whole exceedingly touching and effective: — *Valeat tua vox illa*, "Let that saying of your own prevail," namely, — 9. *Te omnes, &c.*, arrange, *Te (putare esse) tuos, omnes qui, &c.*, "That you regard as your friends all who," &c. — 10. *L. Corfidium*. This name was introduced here by mistake (*a lapsus memoria*), as this person was then dead. Cicero afterwards discovered this, and desired some of his friends to erase it; but his request has been neglected.—Ep. ad Att. Lib. 13. 44. — 11. *Veste mutata*, "In mourning apparel." It is said that 20,000 knights changed their garb in the case of Cicero: — *Tecum fuerunt*. "They were with you," "on your side." These persons it appears were not in the camp of Cæsar, nor had declared for him. But it is enough, according to the maxim of Cæsar just stated, that they were not in the camp of Pompey. Because they stayed at home, and did not join either party, they were hated and threatened by the Pompeians as here stated, *his irascbamur, &c.* — 12. *Conserua tuis suos*, "Preserve their friends with yours," i. e., with themselves,—the meaning is, preserve Ligarius.—After *a te* in the next clause supply *vera reperta sunt*, "have been found to be true:." — *Hoc*, refers to the sentence above, namely, *tuos esse, qui contra te non essent*.

XII.—1. *Concordiam*, "The harmony." — 2. *Esse potuisset*, "Could have been,"—more literally, "had been able to be." — 3. *Quis est qui non noverit?* "Who is there that does not know?" i. e., "who does not know?" B. § 141, Rule i., and § 84. 3.—A. & S. § 264. 7., and § 183. 3. Note: — *consensum conspirantem, &c.*, "the harmonious and almost perfect agreement:." — *conflatum*, means "melted together," as it were "moulded into one:." — *quid vis prius futurum fuisse*, "that any thing (even the most improbable) would happen sooner." — 4. *Voluntate*, "In heart," "by inclination:." — *tempestate*, "by a tempest," i. e., by force of circumstances. Compare Virg. *Æn.* I., 108: — *consilio*, "by design." — 5. *Sed ierit*, i. e., *Sed etiam ierit*, "But even if he engaged in the war," i. e., Supposing the worst—Grant that he did take up arms:

— *hi te orant tui*, “these (his brothers) your friends entreat you for him.” — **6.** *Equidem* (*ego—quidem*) is usually connected with the first person — *quidem* with any other: — *qualis*, “what kind of a man,” i. e., “how devoted.” Ligarius, when quæstor, paid over to Cæsar promptly a sum of money voted to him by the senate out of the public treasury (then nearly exhausted) to support his army in Gaul—a measure which Cicero strongly advocated: — *Oblivisci nihil*, Cæsar is said to have known the names of all his soldiers. — **7.** *Quoniam hoc est animi*, &c., “Since this (scil., to forget nothing but injuries) belongs to your disposition.” — **8.** *Te aliquid*, &c., arrange, *Te reminiscentem recordari aliquid de illo quæstorio officio hujus, etiam de quibusdam aliis quæstoribus*, “That you, when you are remembering, would endeavor to recollect something concerning that official act of his as quæstor (Note 6) and also concerning some other quæstors,” scil., who were far from being so obliging. — **9.** *Quam hujus admonitus officio*, &c., “And when, being reminded of him (P. Ligarius) you shall, on account of his service, have granted this (*quam*, viz., his safety) to both these (suppliants):” — *tres fratres—condonaveris*, “you will have restored three,” &c. *Condonaveris* is here used in its primary sense, *to give, to bestow*. — **10.** *Fac igitur*, &c., “Then, what you did lately in the senate-house respecting,” &c.,—do now the same in the forum respecting, &c.: — *de optimis*, &c., arrange, *de fratribus optimis et probatissimis huic*, &c. For this dative see XI. Note 5, with ref. — **11.** *Illum senatui*, “Him (scil., Marcellus, see preceding oration) to the senate:” — *voluntatem*, “affection.” — **12.** *Ille dies*, namely, on which you pardoned Marcellus. — **13.** *Nulla de virtutibus*, &c. (= *Nulla virtutum*), “None of your many virtues.” B. § 107, Obs. 8. — A. & S. § 212, Note 4. — **14.** *Quam ut possis*, “Than that you have the power.” — *quam ut velis*, “than that you have the inclination.” — **15.** *Quum utilius*, &c., arrange, *Quum arbitrer esse utilius, te ipsum loqui tecum, quam me, aut quemquam* (*loqui tecum*).

## ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

DEIOTARUS, Tetrarch—that is, one of the four princes—of Galatia, a country of Asia Minor, between Cappadocia, Phrygia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, was a friend of Pompey, and rendered important services to the Romans in their wars in Asia. Pompey rewarded him by giving him Lesser Armenia; and the Roman senate, through the mediation of Pompey, granted him the title of king, B. C. 65. In consequence of these things he was a warm supporter of Pompey and his party, when the war between Pompey and Cæsar broke out. After the unfortunate issue of the battle of Pharsalus, B. C. 48, he gave up the cause of the Pompeians, and endeavored by all means again to win the favor of Cæsar, which he had enjoyed before the war. He accordingly offered money and troops to Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who had the command in Asia, while Cæsar himself was still engaged in the African war, B. C. 47. Meantime Deiotarus himself had to carry on a war; for Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, and king of Bosphorus, had taken from him Lesser Armenia. But the war which Deiotarus undertook against the invader, with the assistance of the same Cn. Domitius, turned out unfavorably, and Deiotarus lost almost his whole army. Cæsar had by this time brought the Alexandrine war to a successful issue; he went to Asia Minor to attack Pharnaces, who had encroached upon Roman territory, and injured Roman allies. Deiotarus went out to meet the victorious imperator, in a humble manner, and sued for mercy. Cæsar pardoned him, and allowed him to retain his kingly title; but did not restore to him his former possession, giving the eastern part of the tetrarchy of the Trocmi, to Mithridates of Pergamus, whom he had appointed king of Bosphorus; and Lesser Armenia, the gift of Pompey, was assigned to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, who was likewise a faithful ally of Rome. Deiotarus, who had

hospitably received Cæsar, and had accompanied him against their common enemy Pharnaces, had not expected this treatment; and after Cæsar had quitted Asia, the king appears to have, somehow or other, expressed his dissatisfaction (see Chap. III.). But this does not seem to have been the ground of accusation which was raised against him two years later; for his grandson Castor charged him with having made an attempt on the life of Cæsar, at the time when the latter stayed with him for three days; and Castor brought with him Phidippus, the king's physician, to bear witness to the charge. As to what induced Castor to bring forward this serious accusation, Cicero is silent; but from other passages which were written after Cicero's death, we may conjecture that family disputes, and especially the cruelty of Deiotarus, provoked his grandson to bring this charge against him. Cicero, who had formed a friendship with Deiotarus at the time when he was governor of Cilicia, undertook his defence; and, B. C. 45, he delivered the present oration in the house of Cæsar, in the presence of the ambassadors of Deiotarus (see Chap. XV.), and of the accusers. Afterwards he wrote down the speech and sent it to his friend. He endeavors to set forth the unprecedented and incredible nature of the charge, especially by identifying the impracticability of such a plan, with its non-execution. In enumerating the great services rendered by Deiotarus to Pompey, Cæsar, and the Roman state (Chaps. III.—V.), he describes him as a very venerable old man, of a very excellent character, who could not possibly have been capable of such an act; which, moreover, would have been planned in an extremely stupid manner, if it had been devised in the way stated by the accuser. He charges the accuser with extreme impudence and falsehood, and in conclusion appeals to the mercy of Cæsar.

We are not distinctly informed what the result of this defence was, but we have reason to believe that Cæsar did not press the matter any further. Deiotarus remained in possession of his tetrarchy, but did not recover Lesser Armenia in the lifetime of Cæsar, who, as Cicero (Phil. II. 37) says, always hated Deiotarus. After the murder of Cæsar, however, Deiotarus recovered his possession, and took cruel vengeance on the parents of Castor, whom he ordered to be murdered. Castor himself escaped, and, after the death of Deiotarus, obtained possession of a part of Galatia.

This speech is not so energetic and impressive as that for Ligarius, to which it bears some resemblance in the treatment of the subject. Cicero himself, in one of his letters, does not speak very favorably of it, and describes it as lightly dashed off, and without any great depth, probably because he was obliged to pass over many things in silence.

## NOTES.

**I.—1.** *Quum—tum*, “Though—yet.” In the connection of clauses by *quum—tum*, the first with the subjunctive assumes a general statement of which the second with the indicative adduces a special instance. With the indicative in both clauses, both equally assert, but the last as of greater importance than the first, and may be rendered “not only—but also;” or, “but more particularly.” — **2.** *Ætas mea*, Cicero was now in his 62d year: — *mea fides*, “my promise,” scil. to Deiotarus to defend him. After *ut*, arrange the last clause first. — **3.** *Primum*, “First.” Cicero assigns four reasons for the unusual perturbation he now felt. 1. The dignity of his client. 2. The cruelty and meanness of his accusers. 3. The alleged crime was against Cæsar, who of course, in a certain degree, would be judge in his own cause; and, 4. The place was Cæsar’s house. — **4.** *Quod ipsum etsi*, “And though this itself,” namely, to defend a king: — *duntaxat*, “only”=“except only:” — *capitis reum esse*, “should be put on trial for his life,”—“be accused of a capital crime.” — **5.** *Deinde*, “Secondly.” The second reason: — *ornare*, “to honor,” or “reward.” Deiotarus had been honored by the senate with expressions of gratitude—with the title of king—and with extended dominion. — **6.** *Meritis*, “Meritorious services,” in the assistance rendered in the war against Mithridates, and to Cicero himself in his expedition against the Cilicians: — *atrocissimum crimen*, viz., of having attempted the life of Cæsar, when Cæsar was his guest. — **7.** *Accedit, ut conturber*, “Besides this, I am disturbed:” — *alterius—alterius*, “of the one—of the other.” The first *alterius* refers to Castor, the grandson of Deiotarus,—the second to Phidippus, his slave and physician. Most physicians at that time were in this condition. — **8.** *Crudelis Castor*, “Cruel Castor!” In exclamations, the vocative is used with or without an interjection: — *qui nepos—adduxerit*, “for a grandson to bring.” B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. For this rendering, see Analytical Eng. Gr. 885. — **9.** *Adolescentiaque suæ terrorem intulerit ei*, “For a young man to prove a terror to him,” lit., “to bring the terror of his youth on him:” — *commendationemque*, &c., “to derive the commendation of his early days.” It was not uncommon at Rome, for young men to seek fame for themselves by accusing magistrates and nobles, and in this way frequently proved a terror and annoyance to them. — **10.** *Impulerit, &c., a legatorum pedibus abduxerit*, “Impelled the slave of his grandfather, induced by bribes, to accuse his master, (and) withdrew (him) from the service of the ambassadors.” The place for slaves

was at the feet of their masters, hence to withdraw a person from the feet of any one, is to withdraw him from his service. These ambassadors came, and Phidippus along with them, to defend Deiotarus; and yet this slave, bribed by Castor, instead of defending, basely accuses his master.

— **11.** *Regiam* = *regis*. B. § 106, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 4. —

**12.** *De servo = e servo—quari*, “To examine a slave.” Cicero here states that in former days a slave was not permitted to testify against his master, even on the rack—a method of examination by which they thought truth was sure to be elicited: but here. — **13.** *Exortus est servus, qui accuset solutus*, &c., “A slave starts up, unbound, to eriminate him whom on the rack he could not accuse.” For *qui accuset*, see B. § 141. Obs. 2, 4th.—A. & S. § 264, 5.

**II.—1.** *Illud*, “The following circumstance,” namely, that Cæsar was virtually to be judge in his own cause. This is the third reason: — *re*, “in the case itself:” — *iniquam*, “unfavorable.” — **2.** *Consilium facinoris inisse arguare*, “You are (meaning “one;” or, “a person is”) accused of having entered into a scheme of wickedness:” — *arguare* here, in the 2d person, as frequently, is to be understood indefinitely as to its subject: — *grave*, “unpleasant.” — **3.** *Æquiores*, “More favorable.” — **4.** *Quid tu*, supply *judices*, “What you may decide:” — *quid de te*, &c., “what opinion you wish others to form of you,” namely, that he would be a just and impartial judge even in his own cause. — **5.** *Moveor etiam*, &c., “I am moved also by the unusualness of the place itself.” This is the fourth cause: — *unquam in disceptatione versata est*, “ever came on trial.” *Causam* is governed by *dico*, “I plead.” — **6.** *Oratorum studia viti solent*, “The exertions of orators usually depend.” *scil.*, the sight of a multitude excites and sustains the energies of an orator: — *acquiesco*, “I feel at ease,” “I cease to fear.” — **7.** *Que*, “These things,” just mentioned: — *obtincende veritatis*, “of getting at (establishing) the truth:” — *ad motum animi—leviora*, “but of less weight (less powerful) for the excitement of the mind.” — **8.** *Que quoniam angustiora*, &c., “And since the walls (of this house) render these things more difficult:” — *actioque*, “and the pleading:” — *sapē dixisti*, see Or. for Ligarius, Ch. X. Note 7. — **9.** *Ad te ipsum referre*, “To judge from yourself;” that is, from his own experience in public speaking, Cæsar could readily make allowance for the effect these unfavorable circumstances must have on the defence Cicero was now to make: — *Audiendi diligentia*, “your close attention.” — **10.** *Qui quum videantur—valere*, &c., “and since these (accusers) seem to be distinguished neither for talent, &c.” It is not common for Cicero to depreciate the talents of

his opponents, but he does it now to hint that their hope of success depends not on themselves, or their cause, but on supposed prejudices in the mind of Cæsar against Deiotarns.

III.—1. *Affectum illum*, &c., "That he suffered some inconveniences and losses," viz., of Trocmi and Lesser Armenia. See Introd. — 2. *Tum sibi amicum*, "But also a friend to them." As Cæsar had a strong antipathy to Deiotarns, they might suppose that their course against him would secure to them the friendship of Cæsar. The reflexive *sibi*, in a dependent clause, as here, commonly refers to the subject of the leading verb. B. § 28, Obs. 2. 1st.—A. & S. § 208 (1). — 3. *Quumque apud ipsum te* (= *te ipsum*)—*dicerent*, "And seeing they spoke to you personally:" — *ut . . . . . insideret*, "that a fictitious crime would easily become seated (immovably fixed) in your wounded breast," i. e., would be most readily and firmly believed. — 4. *Per fidem*, i. e., *te oro per fidem*, see next sentence. — 5. *Per dexteram istam*, "By that right hand of thine." B. § 31, Obs. 2. — *hospes hospiti*; *hospes* means both a *guest* and a *host*, hence "a friend." Cæsar, returning from his march against Pharnaces, enjoyed the hospitality of Deiotarns. — 6. *Non tam firmiorem*; *firmiorem*, a strengthened form for *firmam*. This is rather unusual, but some instances occur; as, *non tam fructu jucundius*. Liv.: — 7. *Illius*, refers to Deiotarns: — *ejus dii penates*, "the tutelary gods of his family," i. e., his family itself. — 8. *Quum facile—soles*, &c., "It is your custom not only to be easily induced to forgive, but to forgive at once and for ever," lit. "once for all." — 9. *Querelæ tuæ*, "Your expostulations:" — *officio parum functum*, "a little negligent of his duty." — 10. *Cui tamen ipsi rei*, "Which very thing, however," viz., his preference of Pompey. In reference to this, Cæsar wrote to Deiotarns thus: "*Sed ignosco tibi, si scutus es nomen senatus. Mitte exercitum Pompeio, mitte filium, tu tantum excusatione utere, quia senex es:*" — *excusatione ætatis*, "the apology of his old age." — 11. *Quum maximis eum rebus liberares*, "Seeing you absolved him from the greatest offences." Note 10.

IV.—1. *Neque enim ille odio*, &c. Cicero here attributes the conduct of Deiotarns complained of, not to any hostile feeling towards Cæsar, but to his being led away with the common error. — 2. *Durisset*, "Had regarded:" *iisdem rebus est perturbatus*, &c. The subject of *perturbatus est* is *is rex* above. After *durisset*, arrange thus:—*homo longinquus et alienigena* (in apposition with *rex*) *perturbatus est* ("was led astray") *iisdem rebus quibus nos, nati semperque versati in media re publica* (scil., *perturbati sumus*). The argument is: If we, born and living in the statu, were



led astray, there is some excuse for him at a distance, and a foreigner. This is Cicero's *first* excuse for Deiotarus. — 3. *Consulibus, &c.,—rem publicam defendendam datam*, "That the defence of the republic was committed to the consuls, &c." This was B. C. 48, in the consulship of Marcellus and Lentulus: — *nobis imperatoribus*, Cicero had obtained the title of imperator (Or. for Ligarius, III. Note 5) in the Cilician war, and as proconsul, he, with other classes here mentioned, had received from the senate the command usually given in times of danger, "*Ut videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.*" — 4. (*Sic enim nuntiabatur*), ("For so he was told.") This, however, was not strictly true, for Cicero, Sulpicius, and others remained. — *Italiam*, "Italy," i. e., "the people of Italy:" — *esse effusam*, "were dispersed." — 5. *Tulibus nuntiis*, "For such (incorrect) reports:" — *nec ulli veri*, scil., *nuntii subsequabantur*, "nor did any true statements follow," by which erroneous impressions might have been corrected. — 6. *De conditionibus tuis*, "concerning your proposals." Pompey demanded that Cæsar should deliver up his province and army to a successor, previous to his suing for a second consulship. Cæsar offered to disband his army, if Pompey did the same. He wanted an interview with Pompey, and a fair division of the provinces, and desired to obtain the consulship in a lawful way; but all these proposals were refused: — *de conspiratione, &c.*, "concerning the combination of certain men," viz., such as Marcellus, Lentulus, Domitius, Scipio, and Cato. Yet, after all this, Deiotarus did not take part against Cæsar, but remained neutral, till ambassadors and letters came to him from Pompey. This is the *second* excuse offered for Deiotarus. — 7. *Quum dii—congressissent*. See above Ch. I., Note 1: — *tum tu ipse, &c.*, "but (on whom) even you yourself bestowed very many and distinguished honors." Cæsar gave to Pompey his daughter Julia to wife, and while she lived, the two leaders were united, promoted each other's schemes, and voted to each other the highest offices and honors. — 8. *Quanti honores populi Romani*, "How great honors from the Roman people:" — *populi, senatus, tui*, here are all genitives of the subject, and denote the source from which these honors proceeded. B. § 106, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 2. — 9. *Superiores vicerat*, "Had surpassed his predecessors:" — *admirantes numerabamus*, "with admiration we reckoned up the wars, &c.;" *tuos, &c.*, "yours we are unable to number."

V.—I. *Ad eum*, "To such a man," namely, Pompey: — *hospitio*, "by friendship" (arising from acts of hospitality): — *familiaritate*, "by the closest intimacy." This is Cicero's *third* excuse for Deiotarus, and is drawn from his former relations to Pompey and the Roman people. The

*fourth* excuse is drawn from the following concomitant circumstances. — 2. *Et venit vel, &c.*, which clearly show that he was not influenced by ambitious or selfish motives. — 3. *Ut is qui*, “As one who,” or “being such a one as.” — 4. *Itaque Pharsalico, &c.*, “Therefore, after the battle of Pharsalus.” This begins his *fifth* and last excuse for Deiotarus, and is drawn from his subsequent conduct: — *spem infinitam*, “uncertain hope.” He did not, however, abandon Pompey immediately; he fled with him in the same ship, and landed on the coast of Cilicia, with a view of procuring fresh support for him. — 5. *Vel officio—duxit*, “He considered that he had discharged his duty if he had owed any, or that atonement had been made for his error, if he had acted in ignorance:” — *utilitatibus tuis paruit*, “he subserved your interests,” viz., in the ways now to be mentioned. — 6. *Exercitum Cn. Domitii—sustentavit*, “He supported the army of Cn. Domitius with quarters and supplies.” Besides this, when Domitius carried on the war against Pharnaces, Deiotarus sent to him two legions trained in the Roman manner, and one hundred horse. — 7. *Ad eum, quem*. *Eum* it is supposed refers to Lucius Julius Cæsar, whom Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalus, made governor of Syria, and the adjoining countries. — 8. *Iterum*, “A second time,” viz., in the Alexandrine war: — *tertio*, “a third time,” scil. in the African war, B. C. 45. — 9. *Quæ*, “And these things:” — *in eam partem accepta sunt*, “were so far accepted by you (so gratifying to you), that, &c.” — 10. *Arguitur—voluisse*, “Is accused of having wished to slay you in his own house:” — *quod* refers to the preceding clause. — 11. *Ut enim omittam*, “That I may omit” (i. e., “to say nothing of”). By a *paralepsis* he professes to *pass by* those very things which are in this way brought forward with the greater effect. *Omittam* has for its objects the clauses which follow: — *cujus tanti (= quanti) sceleris fuerit*, “to how great wickedness it belonged:” — *cujus tanta (= quante) importunitatis*, “to how great barbarity:” supply *fuerit*. — 12. *A quo rex, &c.*, “That he should be found a tyrant in regard to him by whom he had been called king.” *Rex* and *tyrannus* are placed in contrast. — 13. *Omnes reges, &c.*, arrange:—*Excitare contra se unum, omnes reges, &c.* — 14. *Quoniam ille modo—distractus esset*, “How would he have been at variance with his kingdom, &c.” — *non modo perfecto, &c.* “being, I will not say perpetrated, but only thought of.”

VI.—1. *At, credo, hæc, &c.*, “But, I suppose, that inconsiderate and rash man did not see these things.” *At* introduces an objection. The objector is supposed to say, “It is true a considerate man could not have entertained the thought of such wickedness, situated as he was, but if

Deiotarus is a rash, hot-headed man, he would never think of these things, and, of course, not be restrained by them." How preposterous such an objection is, Cicero intimates by the ironic *credo*—goes on to refute it, and to strengthen his argument by defending the character of Deiotarus.

2. *Quis tectior?* "Who more cautious?" The allusion is to the gladiator who wisely covers and protects himself with his shield from the stroke of his adversary. — 3. *Quamquam hoc loco*, &c., "And yet, in this point, I think that the defence of Deiotarus should rest, not so much on his talents and prudence, as on the honor and sanctity of his life." — 4. *Cui porro?* "By whom moreover?" — 5. *Quod igitur facinus*, &c., "A crime, in short, which could happen neither, &c."—"That crime you pretend has been hatched:" — *a viro optimo*, &c., "by one of the best of citizens, and a man of distinguished prudence," lit. "who is no fool:" — *homo* is opposed to *deus* or *bellua*, and means *a human being*; *vir* is opposed to *mulier*, and means a man, as possessed of those qualities by which a man is distinguished from a woman. The former is applied to man in his *social* relations as a member of the human family; the latter to man in his *civil* relations as a member of the state. This distinction, however, is not always observed when the words are used separately, and not together as here. — 6. *At (hoc fingitis) quam non modo*, &c., "But this you pretend, I will not say, so as not to be believed (lit. how incredibly), but so as not even to excite suspicion." This he goes on to prove. — 7. *Inquit*, scil. the accuser: — *in castellum Luceium*, "to the castle Luceium"—a fortified residence of Deiotarus in Galatia: — *priusquam accumberes*, "before supper," lit. "before you reclined at table." In the East it was customary to bathe before meals, and at meals persons lay reclining on the left arm: — *qui te interficerent*, "in order to slay you." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 4th.—A. & S. § 264. 5. — 8. *En crimen*, "Behold the charge!" As if to say: How absurd to suppose that Deiotarus should employ armed men to slay Cæsar in such a way that it could not fail to be publicly known, when he could have got this trusty physician to destroy him secretly by poison in his food or drink! — 9. *Isto adolescentæ*, scil. Castor; *isto* here, and *ista* above, are used to express contempt: — *subornavit*, &c., "he has suborned this *medicus* as an informer." Cicero says that when he first heard of this matter, he immediately suspected it would be attempted to prove by this physician, that Deiotarus proposed to him to destroy Cæsar by poison. But as there is not a word of this, he thinks it sufficient to discredit the whole affair; for in the other case these armed men, and not this slave, would have been the proper witnesses, and had there been any truth in it, they would doubtless have been brought forward. — 10. *Palam*, "Openly." See Note 8. — 11. *Jovis ille*. Ar-

range and supply thus: *Ille quidem nunquam potuisset celare (id factum) nomen Jovis hospitalis (= Jovem hospitalem), &c.*, "He certainly never could have concealed (that deed) from Jupiter, the god of hospitality:" and who as such would have avenged the wrongs of an injured guest. *Celare* governs in the accusative, directly, the object concealed, and remotely, the person from whom concealed. B. § 124, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 231. — **12.** *Celare te noluit?* "Would he not have concealed from you?" The argument is: If Deiotarus did not trust you, his shrewd, and, as he thought, faithful slave, with a plan to destroy Cæsar secretly by poison, he certainly would much less trust you with a knowledge of his purpose to destroy him by arms. — **13.** *Inquit*, scil. the accuser: — *negavisti*, &c., "you (Cæsar) said that you would not then look at them," viz., the intended presents of Deiotarus. By this refusal the accuser intimates, that without his own knowledge, Cæsar escaped the snare laid for him. The absurdity of this allegation, Cicero shows in the next chapter.

**VII.—1.** *Re*, "The business," scil. the murder of Cæsar: — *dimisit exercitum*. Cicero in derision calls the pretended "armed men" an "army." — **2.** *Itaque fecisti*, "And you did so," i. e., you returned to the same place where it is pretended these armed men were lying in wait. — **3.** *Magnum fuit?* "Was it a great thing?"—"a difficult matter?" — *quum*, "not only;" — *tum illuc isti* (contracted for *ivisti*), "but also you went to that place." — **4.** *Quo in loco*, "And in this place," &c. Attalus III., king of Persia, who made the Roman people the heir of his kingdom, B. C. 133. Africanus means Scipio Africanus minor, who destroyed Numantia in Spain, the same year. As nothing like that here mentioned is known of Attalus, it is supposed it should be Antiochus, respecting whom Livy relates a similar circumstance. — **5.** *Præsens*, "In person:" — *regio animo et more*, "with the spirit and manner of a king," i. e., with great splendor and liberality. — **6.** *Repete*, "Recall:" — *num que*, "was there any, &c." — *num quid*, supply *factum est*, "Was there any thing done?" — *disciplina*, "with the regulation," "training." All this, it is implied, betrayed no symptoms of a guilty purpose. — **7.** *Cur te lotum*, &c., "Why he wished to slay you after you had bathed, but did not wish to slay you after you had supped." — **8.** *Inquit*, "(The accuser again) says:" — *distulit*, "he (Deiotarus) put it off:" — *cogitata*, "his purpose," lit. "the things thought of." — **9.** *Acta res criminose est*, "This thing was brought forward as a part of the accusation." — **10.** *Vomere*, "To take an emetic." The Romans were accustomed sometimes to take an emetic before a feast to prepare them for it, and also after it to relieve themselves by unloading their stomachs and fitting

themselves better for social intercourse. To this disgusting practice Seneca alludes, when he says of voluptuaries, "*Veniunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant.*" — 11. *In cubiculo malle, &c.* By this, the accuser intimates that Cæsar's usual good fortune, without his knowledge, again saved him, and thwarted the purposes of Deiotarus. This impudent assertion provoked the indignant execration here used. — 12. *Dii te, perduint*, "The gods destroy thee, faithless slave!" *perduint* pres. subj. for *perdant*: — *nequam* (indecl.) "worthless." — 13. *Signa aenea*, "Bronze statues." The "armed men," mentioned in the accusation, he in ridicule calls "bronze statues;" he before called them "an army." — 14. *Habes crimina, &c.*, "You have now the whole of the charge of treachery," i. e., this is the whole charge. — 15. *Horum, inquit, eram conscius*, "He (Phidippus) says: 'I was privy to these things:'" — *ille*, "he" (Deiotarus). — 16. *Is*, scil. Phidippus: — *solutum*, "at liberty."

VIII.—1. *Una, &c.*, "One part was that the king was always on the lookout." *Specula* means "a watch-tower:" — *quum a te, &c.*, "seeing he was of a hostile mind towards you:" — *altera*, "the second." Of this second Cicero disposes, first in this chapter as requiring only a few words, and takes up the first in the beginning of the next chapter. — 2. *Eas (= tales) copias*: — *quibus*, "such forces that with them." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1: *excursionibus*, "inroads," "attacks." — 3. *Antea*, "Formerly," i. e., before he was stript of part of his dominions. See Introd. — 4. *At misit, &c.*, "But (says the accuser) he sent (messengers) to a certain Cæcilius,"—a contemptuous expression—Cæcilius Balbus, a Roman eques, and follower of Pompey, had collected an army, and taken possession of Syria, on hearing of Cæsar's defeat in Africa. — 5. *Quos mitteret*, "(Other messengers) whom he could send:" — *qui dicto audientes, &c.*, "or (that those) who had disobeyed in so grave a matter, had been imprisoned, rather than put to death." The probability of these things he does not discuss. — 6. *Causam illam*, scil. Pompey's: — *victam esse*, "was ruined:" — *an*, "or," &c. Neither of these alternatives was likely—the inference is, the accuser's allegation of his sending such messengers is a fiction: — *istum* here again expresses contempt: — *is*, referring to Deiotarus. — 7. *Addit*, "He (the accuser) adds:" — *illud* refers to what follows. The accuser, it seems, meanly represented that the cavalry sent by Deiotarus to assist Cæsar against Pharnaces, were none of the best, and added nothing to the cavalry of Cæsar. Cicero replies, he sent the best he had. The accuser again asserts that one of those sent was a slave, which was an insult to Cæsar's army; because a slave was not permitted to serve, especially in the Roman cavalry

Cicero replies he does not think it was so, he had not heard it, and even if such a thing did happen, it was no fault of the king, who could know nothing of it: — *At (addit) nescio quem*, &c., “But (he says) that some one of that number was a condemned slave,” i. e., a person reduced to slavery for his crimes by a judicial sentence. *Nescio quem* = *aliquem*. In this way *nescio quis* and *nescio quid* are often used.

**IX.—1.** *Speravit*, ironical, as indicated by the usual *credo*. The meaning is, he had no such expectations, his conduct was ample proof of this. — **2.** *Ei*, namely, Cn. Domitius Calvinus: — *victori*, scil. in Egypt. See Introd. — **3.** *Bellum Africanum*, against the Pompeians under Scipio, Cato, Cn. Pompey, and Juba, B. C. 47 and 46: — *graves rumores*, “painful rumors,” viz., that Cæsar had not been successful and was dead. Even then, however, he says, Deiotarus gave the most decided proofs of his attachment to Cæsar, by raising money for him at great personal sacrifices: — *qui auctionatus sit*, scil. *bona*, “seeing he sold his goods at auction.” B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. — **4.** *At eo inquit*, &c. From this to *intercidant*, is another statement of the accuser, in which he represents the efforts of Deiotarus to win the favor of Cæsar, as the effect of fear, while at the same time he acted in such a way as to show he would have been well pleased if the rumored disasters had proved true: — *qui—exciperent*, “in order to catch up.” — **5.** *Domitium periisse*. After Domitius had arranged matters in Asia, he followed Cæsar to Africa, and it was reported that he had been shipwrecked on his way thither: — *versum Græcum*; the verse here referred to scil., Ἐρρέτεφ φίλος σὺν ἐχθρῶ, is preserved by Plutarch. — **6.** Cicero, in reply, states the improbability that Deiotarus, whom he calls *mansuetus*, would use such an unfeeling expression, *versus inmanis*. There is something oratorical, however, in applying the term *mansuetus* to Deiotarus, who was noted for his cruelty. — **7.** *Qui autem*, “But how”—an ablative form for *quo*, to which supply *modo*. B. § 33, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 136, Rem. 1. — *regem*, predicate of *se* and *filium* separately, though taken together as the subject of *constitutos esse*. This construction is rare. — **8.** *Furcifer*—an epithet applied to Phidippus, who, as a treacherous slave, was liable to be punished by carrying the *furca* (a kind of yoke) on his neck: — *ait*, “he (Phidippus) says”—another representation of the accuser—*hac lætitia*, “with this joy,” i. e., joy on this account: — *nudum*, i. e., with his robe or upper garment laid aside. — **9.** *Frugi hominem dici*, “For a man to be called frugal,”—subject of *habet*. See Analytical Eng. Gr. 873: — *illa* refers to *frugalitas*. — **10.** *Hæc in illo est—perspecta*. — **11.** *Quidquid (temporis) vacabat*, “Whatever time he was at leisure.” The accusative

of time, "how long." — *res rationesque*, "business relations," lit., "business and accounts." — 12. *Qui igitur, &c.?* "Did he then (a man) of such reputation and at such an age dance, who in his youth, &c.?" The question implies 'the thing is incredible.'

X.—1. *Quod si*, "But even if:" — *neque*, "and not:" — *unde* = *a quo*. — 2. *In illam aetatem*, "To that age:" i. e., "to a man of that age." Deiotarus was then an old man, the grandfather of a man old enough to have served in war under both Cicero and Pompey, and after that to stand up as an accuser, hence *exacta aetate* below. — 3. *Quibus ille studiis, &c.*, "From early youth he had accustomed himself to the pursuits not of dancing:" — *sed ut uteretur* (a change of construction for *utendi*), "but of using." Both *saltandi* and *ut uteretur* are dependent on *studiis*. — 4. *Quod hærere, &c.* This clause depends on *admirari*. — 5. *Hic vero adoleseens*, "But this young man," scil. Castor. *Adoleseens* is used in contrast with the great age of Deiotarus, to show the insolence and irreverence of his bringing such a charge against his aged grandfather: — *meus miles*, "a soldier under my command:" — *com-milito*, "my fellow-soldier." Both were under the command of Pompey in Greece. Cicero, of course, had had the opportunity of knowing him well: — *pater*, "his father," viz., Saocondarius, the son-in-law of Deiotarus: — *quos concursus, &c.*, "what crowds he was wont to collect:" — *illa causa*, scil. the cause of Pompey. — 6. *Exercitu amisso*, "When the army (of Pompey) was lost." It is said that of Pompey's army there fell in the battle of Pharsalia 15,000, and 24,000 were taken prisoners: — *ad meam auctoritatem*, "to my opinion." — 7. *Quod et ipse, &c.*, "But even he himself continued to burn with eager desire for this very war." The orator is careful to set forth the zeal of both Castor and his father in the cause of Pompey, and of course against Cæsar, to show the maliciousness of the accuser in charging Deiotarus with hostility to Cæsar—a crime of which he himself had been equally guilty. — 8. *Felix ista domus*, "Fortunate your family." Observe the force of *ista*: — *quæ adeptæ sit*, "in having obtained:" — *qui accusatur*, "in being accused." B. § 141, Rule iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8: — *non modo apud te, &c.*, "not only before you (the offended party), but also by his own relatives."

XI.—1. *Sint sane inimicitie, &c.*, "Allow then that there is enmity," viz., between you (Castor) and Deiotarus, "which (considering your obligations to him,) there ought not to be." — 2. *Quis tuum patrem antea qui esset—audivit, &c.?* for *quis audivit qui tuus pater esset, &c.?* "Who ever heard who your father was, before he heard whose son-in-law he

was?" *Qui* is not the relative, but the interrogative used indefinitely. B. § 34, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 137. 1 (c). The meaning is, "Your father was never heard of till he married the daughter of Deiotarus, and thus all the consequence you enjoy as a family, is derived from your relation to him whom you seek to destroy." As in this sentence, the subject of a verb, in a dependent clause, is sometimes rendered more prominent by placing it first in the accusative as the object of the leading verb. See more examples. B. § 116, Note 2. — 3. *Hominum more*, "Like men," i. e., with decency, and not like savages or wild beasts: — *non (in iudicium) capitalis arcessere*, "not to charge with a capital crime." — 4. *Concedatur hæc*, &c., "Let even this bitterness and implacable hatred be allowed:" — *adeone* (supply *concedi debet*), "ought it to be allowed to such a degree that, &c.?" — 5. *Nam ista corruptela servi, si*. Here, in a similar way as above, *ista corruptela*, to make it more prominent, is placed before *si*, "For if such bribery of a slave:" — *a tanta auctoritate*, "by so great authority," scil. by the authority of Cæsar. — 6. *Fit in dominatu servitus*, &c., "The slave becomes the master, and the master the slave," lit., "There is slavery in being a master, and dominion in being a slave." Thus he argues that such a course as that of Castor is not only ungrateful and impious, but if sanctioned by the authority of Cæsar, would destroy the bonds of social intercourse and revolutionize society. — 7. *In iudicium populi vocasset*, "Had summoned to trial before the people," viz., for having neglected sacrifices and sacred rites. Cn. Domitius was tribune of the people, B. c. 104, M. Æmilius Scaurus had been elected by the censors six times to the dignity of *princeps senatus*. He was consul B. c. 115. — 8. *Vide quid intersit*, "See the difference." Domitius, in accusing Scaurus, rejected the testimony of his slave, though voluntarily offered, and sent him back to his master. Castor seduced the slave from his master, his own grandfather—took him home to his house, and bribed him to bear testimony against him; and that, too, more than once, as he now shows. For after this slave returned to the ambassadors of Deiotarus, he acknowledged, in the hearing of Sulpicius and Torquatus, that he had been corrupted by Castor, and impelled by his promises to act a deceitful part (*in fraudem*); yet now he was acting the same part again, and this shows that he was bribed again. This contrast places the case against the accuser in a strong light.

XII.—1. *Quæ est ista—inhumanitas*, &c., "What inhumanity is that of yours, so violent, &c.?" *quæ=qualis, impotens* here means *unrestrained, violent*. — 2. *At quam acute*, &c. "But how wisely your charges have been mustered!" — 3. *Blesamius*, one of the three ambassadors sent by



Deiotarus to attend to his interests at Rome. The other two were Hieras and Antigonus, see Ch. XV. — *inquit*, “he (the accuser) says:” — *maledicebat tibi*, “he (scil. Castor) attempted to slander you:” — *regem*, scil. Deiotarus. — 4. *Statua inter reges posita*, &c., “Your statue being placed,” i. e., “when your statue was placed among the kings.” The statues of the seven kings of Rome were placed in the Capitol. — 5. *Ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis*, “From the city gossip of evil-minded persons:” — *ab istis*, “by these men” (the accusers); *istis* expresses contempt. — 6. *Blesanius tyrannum Cæsarem scriberet?* “Would Blesanius write that Cæsar was a tyrant?” This question with the verb in the imperfect subjunctive, implies a strong negative in the expected answer, “Most certainly not, it is impossible;” with the indicative it would denote uncertainty, and ask for information. — 7. *Multorum enim*, &c., “He had seen perhaps the heads of many citizens:”—*enim* is ironical. The meaning is just the reverse of the expression—*armatis militibus refertum forum*, the irony is still continued. So far from this being the case, Appian says that Cæsar removed from his person the Prætorian cohorts; and when urged to consult his own safety, and the interests of the state, by retaining around him a body of armed men, he replied, “that he would rather die than be feared.” — 8. *Ceciderit nemo nisi armatus*. See Or. for Ligarius VI, Note 13, with references. — 9. *In regno*, “In a monarchy,” viz., under king Deiotarus. — 10. *Una*, i. e., *de una statua*,—*valde enim invidendum est*, &c., “We who have never been displeased at his trophies, must be greatly shocked, to be sure, at his statues.” *Enim* here again is ironical. — 11. *Nam si locus*, &c., “But if the place occasions displeasure (scil., the capitol), no place certainly is more conspicuous for a statue than the Rostra.” Here Cicero ingeniously avoids the offensive point. It was not its being in a conspicuous place that gave offence; it was its being among the statues of the kings, as indicating that Cæsar was aiming at regal power. But Cicero purposely loses sight of that, and denies that any body could be offended at one statue being set up in so conspicuous a place as the Capitol, when they were in no way displeased with two statues being placed before the Rostra, a place more conspicuous still. *De plausu*, as it respects applause, he answers, Cæsar never sought it; men were too much amazed with his exploits, to think of it; and it was too common a thing, to be worthy of Cæsar.

XIII.—1. *Ne tibi illum*, &c., “That you may suspect that he (Deiotarus) is somewhat angry with you.” For *ne* after *metuo*, *vereo*, &c., see B. § 140, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 7. — 2. *Quod abest*, &c., “But that, believe me, is very far from him.” *Quod* refers to the preceding

clause.—So also *illud* in the one before. — 3. *Quid retineat*, “What he retains,” scil., his life, his title of king, and part of Galatia as his kingdom: — *quid amiseric*, scil., Armenia and Troemi. See Introduction: — *multatum*, another form for *muletatum*. — 4. *Multis tibi multa esse tribuenda*, “That many things had to be bestowed by you on many persons.” Cæsar increased the number of prætors to 14—of quæstors to 40—of senators to 900. — 5. *Quominus a se*, &c., “He did not object to your taking these things from him (B. § 45, ii. 3.) seeing he had been in the other party,” scil., Pompey’s. — 6. *Si Antiochus—devictus*, scil., Antiochus III., king of Syria. He was defeated near Magnesia, and had to give up all Asia west of Mount Taurus, B. C. 189: — *nostra provincia*; that part of Asia taken from Antiochus was given to Attalus, at whose death it fell by his will to the Romans. — 7. *Ille enim*, &c., “For the former had paid the penalty of his madness; the latter, of his error:” — *multam*, same as *muletam*, and *multam sustulerat* = *pœnam dederat*. — 8. *Nomen regium*, “The title of king.” This was (*omnia*) every thing to Deiotarus. — 9. *Multa se arbitratur*, &c., “He thinks both that he has acquired by his former acts, and is still willing and able to do many things which,” &c., lit., “has in his mind and in his power:” — *omnium imperatorum*, such as Sulla, Murena, Servilius, Lucullus, and Pompey. — 10. *Posteaquam in castris*, &c., “After he was of an age to engage in military service:”—Render literally: — *publicis literis monumentisque*, “in public documents and annals.” Such *judicia senatus* were kept in the public archives in the Capitol, and the assembled people gave its sanction to them. — 11. *Quæ omnes docti*, &c., “Which all learned men and philosophers have said are the chief good; some, also, the sole good.”

XIV.—1. *Quo quidem animo*, &c., “Not only, indeed, was he in this state of mind before:” — *tum non dubito quin—se magis etiam erexerit*, &c., “but also I doubt not he encouraged himself even more, and freed himself from all anxiety, in consequence of your letter:” — *Torracone*, “at Tarraco,” a town in Spain, where Cæsar, after defeating the Pompeians, received the embassies which came to him partly to congratulate him, and partly to sue for pardon: — *exemplum*, “a copy.” — 2. *Jubes enim (eum)*, “For you tell him,” viz., in that letter: — *ad me te scribere*, “that you wrote to me,” scil., from Egypt: — *meque tuis literis*, &c., “and that I was not told in vain in your letter to hope for good.” — 3. *Laboro*, “I exert myself:” — *quocum mihi*, &c., “between whom and me the public service brought about a friendship:”—Render literally.—Observe the climax, *amicitiam—hospitium—familiari-*

*talem—summam necessitudinem.* — 4. *Quibus semel ignotum esse, &c.,* “To whom it behoved pardon to be extended once for all.” — 5. *Quod fieri solet,* “As is usual:” — *tentare equonam modo, &c.,* “to try whether in any way I can excite your compassion by my speaking:” — *ipsa* (scil., *miseriordia*), &c., “of itself it is accustomed.” — 6. *Propor e tibi duos reges,* “Consider with yourself the case of the two kings,” viz. Deiotarus and his son:—Render literally. — 7. *Dabis profecto, &c.* “You will undoubtedly grant to compassion, what you have refused to anger.” The meaning of this sentence is not very obvious, and of course it has been variously interpreted, but not very satisfactorily, so far as I have seen. Another may be hazarded. In the preceding sentence Cicero brings forward the case of the son evidently to aid his plea in behalf of the father. If the latter had offended, the former had not, and yet the refusal to acquit the father would greatly distress the son. Does not this sentence then mean? “You will surely grant from compassion to the son, that which you have hitherto refused from displeasure with the father.” This view is confirmed by what is said in the beginning of the next chapter. — 8. *Sed maxime eorum incolumitates,* “But especially the security of those.” Abstract nouns are sometimes used in the plural, when that which they express belongs to more than one. — 9. *Quæ si,* “If these,” scil., *monumenta clementiæ tuæ:* — *in privatis,* “in the case of those in private life.”

XV.—1. *Quod nomen hi reges, &c.,* “That these kings would lose this title, they feared when you were victorious.” — 2. *Corpora sua—tibi —tradunt,* “Surrender to you their persons.” — 3. *Qui nuper, &c.,* “Who lately with Hiera was sent to you as an ambassador of the most friendly of kings.” Whether this Dorylaus was now an ambassador of Deiotarus, cannot be ascertained from the text. It is probable he was not, but from his intimacy with Hiera, with whom he had before come as joint ambassador from a friendly sovereign (supposed to be Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia), he united his influence with that of Hiera in behalf of Deiotarus. — 4. *Et criminibus illis, &c.,* “And in regard to these charges, substitutes himself as the defendant instead of his king.” — 5. *Se . . . pedem discessisse,* “that he ever departed a step;” *pedem,* the accusative of distance: — *in primis finibus,* “on the borders,” scil., of Galatia: — *usque ad ultimos (fines),* “even to the last,” i. e., from the time he entered the kingdom till he left it: — *quem e balneo, &c.,* see Ch. VI and VII. — 6. *Quamobrem si quid eorum, &c.,* “Wherefore if any of those things, which have been brought before you (by the accuser) as charges, was thought of, he is willing you should consider that deed

his own." Had it been so that any attempt on the life of Cæsar was intended, seeing he was with Cæsar during the whole time he was in Galatia, and especially in the house of Deiotarus, he must have known of it, and so been *particeps criminis*—a crime, however, of which you cannot but believe he is innocent; and if so, the whole story of these accusers is a base fabrication. — 7. *Velim existimes*, "I wish you to consider." — 8. *Quorum alterum*, &c., "The former of these it is characteristic of their cruelty to wish (scil., Castor and Phidippus); the latter it belongs to your clemency to preserve."

## ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE speech *pro lege Manilia*, or, as it is called in the manuscripts, *De imperio Cn. Pompeii*, was delivered by Cicero in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus, and L. Volcatius Tullus, B. C. 66. He was then prætor, and addressed his speech to a numerous assembly of the Roman people in the Forum. Certain expressions of Cicero lead us to suppose that the speech must have been delivered in the second half of the year, towards the beginning of autumn. The circumstances of the time werè extremely favorable to the orator; for Mithridates, who, for more than twenty years, had been engaged in a vigorous war against the Romans, had not yet been compelled to desist from his hostilities against them. It was just about this time that Mithridates was recovering the advantages of which he had been deprived by Lucullus, who had commanded the Roman armies in the East for a period of seven years, and had now been recalled. The Pontic king had again advanced from the mountains of Armenia into Asia Minor, and Acilius Glabrio, who was consul, B. C. 67, and succeeded Lucullus, was unable to offer him any effectual resistance. At the time when Mithridates was gradually recovering his strength, Pompey had been engaged in a short, but successful and brilliant war against the pirates: he had subdued and pursued them to the remotest corners in the east of the Mediterranean. When Cicero delivered the present speech, Pompey's campaign against the pirates was at an end; but he still possessed unlimited command of the fleet and army in all parts of the Mediterranean, and on all its coasts to a considerable distance from the sea. We are not intimately acquainted with the secret motives which actuated the leading men at Rome, but it is very possible that Pompey

exerted his influence upon them from the East: in short, the tribune C Manilius brought forward a bill proposing that the war against Mithridates should be committed to Pompey; that he should conduct it with all the means he still had at his command; and that, accordingly, he should be left in possession of his unlimited powers; and, moreover, that the interior of Asia also should be assigned to him as his province. The moderate and truly republican patriots thought that this was going too far, and that it was dangerous to intrust so much power to one man. Q. Catulus, and the orator Hortensius, accordingly opposed the bill of Manilius; while others, and especially Julius Cæsar, either in order to establish a precedent, or to create a reaction against Pompey, by committing so much power to him, spoke in favor of Manilius and Pompey. Cicero himself defended the Manilian bill with all the influence of his brilliant eloquence, and induced the people unanimously to intrust to Pompey the supreme command in the war against Mithridates.

The speech may be divided into two unequal parts, the *first* of which extends to chap. 17, and is subdivided into three sections, which Cicero himself describes towards the end of chap. 2. He speaks 1. *De genere belli*, of the nature of the war, for the purpose of showing that it is necessary to continue it, and bring it to a close (chap. 1-8); 2. *De magnitudine belli*, of its vastness, to show that it is dangerous, and requires energetic measures (chap. 8-10); 3. *De imperatore deligendo* (chap. 10-17), of the appointment of a suitable commander, in order to show that Cn. Pompey is, above all others, the man to conduct such an important war, because he possesses all the qualifications which a true general must have—namely, experience, valor, military fame, and good-luck. In the *second* part of the speech, which to some extent is a recapitulation of what has already been said, Cicero, in opposition to Catulus and Hortensius, endeavors to set forth the honesty and disinterestedness of Pompey as contrasted in some measure with the conduct of Lucullus, and to refute the idea of its being unusual and dangerous to accumulate so much power in the hands of one man, by showing that similar things had occurred in the case of other generals, and that an extraordinary measure was justified by the extraordinary nature of the war.

The following chronological arrangement of the events of the war against Mithridates may be useful to the student:—

B. C. 74.—The third Mithridatic war. Lucullus is appointed commander of the land forces, and L. Aurelius Cotta of the fleet. Mithridates besieges Cyzicus, and is surrounded by the army of Lucullus.

- b. c. 73.—Mithridates, after the loss of his army, takes to flight, and loses his fleet in a storm.
- 72.—Lucullus penetrates into Pontus, and besieges Amisus; while Cotta besieges Heraclia, and Pompey brings the war against Sertorius to a close.
- 71.—Lucullus fights in Cappadocia without gaining any decisive results, but in the end puts the enemy to flight. L. Murena near Amisus. Pompey brings the servile war to a close.
- 70.—Lucullus takes Amisus, Senope, and other towns. Cotta allows his soldiers to plunder Heraclia. Pompey consul. Mithridates flees.
- 69.—Lucullus advances across the Euphrates; conquers Tigranes, lays siege to Tigranocerta, and there completely defeats Tigranes; takes and plunders Tigranocerta.
- 68.—Lucullus is prevented by a mutiny among his soldiers from advancing further; he returns, and winters at Nisibis. Mithridates returns; defeats Fabius, and recovers Armenia Minor.
- 67.—Mithridates defeats Triarius on the Iris, and recovers Pontus. Lucullus, on his march against Tigranes, is abandoned by his soldiers. His successor Glabrio goes to Asia. Tigranes enters Cappadocia, and ravages it. Pompey, on the proposal of the tribune Gabinius, receives the supreme command in the war against the pirates.
- 66.—Pompey terminates the war against the pirates; and by the Manilian law, recommended by Cicero, he obtains the supreme command against Mithridates and Tigranes. He expels the enemy from Cappadocia, defeats them near Nicopolis on the Euphrates, and Mithridates withdraws into Colchis. Tigranes sues for peace, and receives back his kingdom, with the exception of some parts (Sophene, Gordyene).
- 65.—Pompey for a time pursues Mithridates, and then returns to Pontus, which he forms into a Roman province. Deiotarus obtains Armenia Minor.

## NOTES.

**I.—1.** *Frequens conspectus vester*, by hypallage for *conspectus frequentiæ vestræ*, “The sight of your numerous assembly:” — *hic autem locus*, “also this place,” viz., the Rostra, a pulpit or stage erected in the Forum from which orators addressed the people in their public assemblies. It was so called because it was adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of ships taken from the Antians, B. C. 337. *Autem* here is not adversative, but connective only, and may be rendered *and, also, moreover*: — *ad agendum amplissimus*, “most dignified for addressing the people;” because none but men of the first note, or such as had borne offices of dignity in the state, were allowed to treat with the people from that place: — *ad dicendum ornatissimus*, “most honorable for speaking;” as it conferred great honor on him who worthily occupied it.—Only magistrates could there propose any subject for the consideration of the people (*agere cum populo*); but any person properly qualified otherwise (*optimo cuique patuit*) might speak upon it. Hence *agendum* and *dicendum* here. — *Quirites*, see II. Or. in Cat. I., 1: — *hoc aditu laudis*, “from this avenue to honor.” — **2.** *Mæcæ vitæ rationes*, &c., “My plan of life adopted at the beginning of my public career,”—scil., to attend to the private concerns of his friends, and to pleadings before the prætor, till by age and experience, he might qualify himself for more important services. His first private cause was argued in his 26th year; his first public one, in the year following; and this oration, which was his first appearance before the people in the Rostra, was delivered in his 41st year. Before this he had held the office of quæstor, and ædile; and but a little before, by the suffrages of the people, had been elected prætor. This he here calls (*fructus*) the fruit of his labors. — **3.** *Per ætatem*, “On account of my youth.” High offices necessary to qualify one to treat with the people from the Rostra could not be held in Rome till a certain age. — **4.** *Hujus auctoritatem loci attingere*, “To aspire to the honor of this place:” — *amicorum temporibus*, “to the affairs of my friends.” — **5.** *Ita neque*, &c. A negative and an affirmative clause, closely connected by *neque* (*nec*) in the first, and *et* in the second, or vice versa, may be rendered by connecting “on the one hand,” with the first, and “on the other,” with the second, as in this sentence,—“On the one hand, this place has never (not ever) been without such as,” &c.; *et*, “and on the other.” B. § 149, Note. — **6.** *Caste integreque*, “With purity and integrity,” i. e., untainted by bribery, and with honesty of purpose. — **7.** *Dilationem comitorum*, “The adjournment of the comitia.” An adjournment



of the comitia, or assembly for electing magistrates, took place on the notice of the augurs that the auspices were unfavorable, or on the intercession of a tribune, and by this the election was prevented. In this case the comitia had been adjourned twice by the intercession of Cornelius. A very corrupt use was sometimes made of this power of adjournment: — *prætor primus*, “first prætor.” The first prætor was the one who received the greatest number of votes, and whose name of course was always mentioned first. In Cicero’s time there were eight prætors; Cicero was elected unanimously (*cunctis centuriis*) in the comitia centuriata. — 8. *Quid aliis præscriberetis*, “What course you prescribe to others,” namely, who would attain to the same distinction: — *ad agendum facultatis tantum*, “so much fitness for addressing you:” — *apud eos*, “before those.” — 9. *Et si quid in dicendo*, &c., “And if I can effect any thing by my oratory:” — *qui ei quoque rei*, &c., “who have thought that some recompense should be awarded by their decision for this thing,” scil., for skill in speaking. — 10. *Quod in hac insolita*, &c., lit., “Because in this kind of speaking from this place unusual to me:” — *oratio*, “eloquence.”

II.—1. *Vestris vectigalibus*, “To your public revenues.” These consisted partly of the tributes in kind (*decumæ*, “tithes”) from land, partly of rents paid for the use of pasturage (*scriptura*), and partly of import and export duties (*portoria*). They were farmed to the equites, who were answerable to the state for the sums required: — *Mithridate et Tigrane*,—the former, king of Pontus; the latter king of Armenia and son-in-law of Mithridates. — 2. *Alter relictus*, “The one (Mithridates) being left,” i. e., allowed after his defeat by Lucullus to escape: — *alter lacessitus*, “the other being provoked.” Lucullus having left Mithridates, and transferred the war into Armenia. — 3. *Quorum magnæ res*, &c., “Whose great fortunes employed in farming your public revenues are at stake.” In order to raise money, the Romans often sold the revenues of a province or district to such as were able to advance the money, generally to persons of the equestrian order, and authorized them to collect the revenues as they became due, to reimburse themselves and pay them for their trouble and outlay. This was usually a profitable investment. But if in consequence of war, or other causes, the revenues failed, the revenue farmers (*publicani*) would be the losers: — *qui*, “and they,” scil., these *equites*: — *pro necessitudine*, “on account of the close relationship.” Cicero was of an equestrian family. — 4. *Bithyniæ*, “Of Bithynia,” which by the will of Nicomedes its last king, was bequeathed to the Romans, B. C. 74. — 5. *Regnum Ario-*

*barzanis*, scil., Cappadocia: — *vestris vectigalibus*, "to your tributary states." — 6. *Huic qui successerit*, supply *eum* as antecedent to *qui*, and subject of *esse*, "That he who succeeded him." The successor of Lucullus was M. Aelius Glabrio, governor of Bithynia. He was unable to hold out against Mithridates when he advanced again B. C. 67. — 7. *Causa quæ sit, videtis*, "You see what is the nature of the ease before you;" *quæ*, the interrogative *quis*, used indefinitely, often equivalent to *qualis*: — *ejusmodi, quod*, "of such a nature that." — 8. *In quo agitur*, "Also in this (war) is at stake." B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 9. *Aguntur certissima*, "The most reliable, and the largest revenues of the Roman people are in danger."—Such were the riches and fertility of Asia, that revenues could be depended on from that quarter, unless interrupted by the calamities of war. — 10. *Requiretis*, "You will look in vain for,"—"You will not be able to find."

III.—1. *Illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta*, "That stain brought upon you in the last Mithridatic war," viz., B. C. 88. — 2. *Penitus insedit ac nimis inveteravit*, "Has settled deep, and become too inveterate." — 3. *(In) uno die*, &c. Mithridates sent secret notice by one letter (or circular) to all the governors of his provinces, that on a certain day they should massacre all the Romans and Italians in their several districts. In consequence of this order, some say 150,000, and others, 80,000 Romans were slain in one day in Asia. — 4. *Emergere e patrio regno*, "To go beyond the bounds of his hereditary kingdom," scil., Pontus: — *versari*, "to revel:" — *in luce Asiæ*, "in the light," i. e., in the full view of Asia. *Luce Asiæ* stands as an antithesis to *latebris Cappadociae*. — 5. *Insignia victoriæ*, "The badges—the trophies of victory," such as standards, &c., i. e., they obtained advantages and partial victories, but not a decided victory. — 6. *Quod*, i. e., *propter id quod*, "For what,"—or we may supply *ejus*, governed by *laus*: — *reliquerunt*, "they left undone."

IV.—1. *Omne reliquum tempus*, scil., after the recall of Murena: — *contulit*, "employed," "occupied," — 2. *Qui* — *misit*, "For, after, &c., he sent." *Qui* here is the subject of *misit*, and, being in the beginning of a sentence, may be rendered "for he." B. § 99, Obs. 8: — *Bosporanis*, "on the people of Bosphorus," namely, those living on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, now the straits of Constantinople: — *ad eos duces*, scil., Sertorius and his associates. Sertorius was at this time the ablest and most powerful among the leaders of the Marian party. — 3. *Locis maxime diversis*, scil., Asia and Spain: — *uno*

*consilio*, "in concert,"—"with one object in view," or, "following out one plan of operations:" — *binis copiis*, "by two armies." The distributive numerals are used instead of the cardinal, with nouns which have no singular, or which have a meaning in the plural different from that of the singular, as here: — *districti*, &c., "taken up (embarrassed) with this double conflict:" — *de imperio* (not for glory or extended rule, but) "for the safety of the empire" (for its existence now in danger). — 4. *Alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ*, &c., "The danger on the one side, namely, from Sertorius and Spain:" — *in altera parte*, "in the other quarter," namely, Asia. — 5. *Ut initia illa*, "That those beginnings," alluding to the victories at Cyzicus and Cabira, Ch. VIII., opposed to *hæc extrema (mala)*, "these last disasters," Ch. IX. — 6. *Vera laus*, "Merited praise:" — *falsa (laus)*, "unmerited." — 7. *Exorsus*, subs., "The beginning:" — *quem animum*, "what spirit," "what feelings of resentment."

V.—1. *Uno nuntio*, "By means of one express," referring to *una significatione literarum*, Ch. III., *atque uno tempore—uno die*. Ch. III. — 2. *Erant appellati superbius*, "Had been spoken to in too haughty a manner," i. e., had been insulted. — 3. *Legatum*, &c. The reference is to Manlius Aquilius, who had been sent as an ambassador to Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes: he was put upon an ass, and after having been thus dragged about with insult, he was taken back to Pergamus in Asia Minor, where he was put to death, melted gold having been poured down his throat, as a sarcasm on the cupidity of the Romans. — 4. *Illi*, "They," scil., *majores nostri*: — *civium*, scil., the merchants and shipmasters just mentioned. — 5. *Quid, quod salus*, &c. Arrange and supply thus: *Quid (censes)? Quo animo tandem debetis ferre (hoc), quod, (that), &c.*: — *summum in periculum ac discrimen*, "into the greatest possible danger." Two words nearly synonymous are often used merely to give force to the expression. — 6. *Duo reges*, scil., Mithridates and his son-in-law Tigranes: — *imperatorem certum*, "a particular commander." He means Pompey, whom he does not yet name: — *deposcere* is governed by *audent—alium*, "another," as their governor, scil., M. Acilius Glabrio, the successor of Lucullus. — 7. *Quod vos*, "Which you (see and feel):" — *et eum esse propter*, "and that he is in the neighborhood," viz., in Cilicia; *propter* is used as an adverb: — *quo etiam*, &c., "and for this reason they feel the want of him even more sensibly." — 8. *Cujus adventu ipso*, "For by his arrival itself" (see above IV., Note 2, *qui*). — 9. *Ad maritimum bellum*, scil., against the pirates in that vicinity. These had become very powerful and dangerous to the Roman commerce and power in the parts.

They are said to have had a thousand galleys, and to have taken four hundred towns. They often insulted the Romans, intercepted their convoys, and made prisoners of their generals. Pompey was sent against these, and speedily reduced them to subjection, B. C. 67. He then landed his forces in Cilicia and Pamphylia. — 10. *Illi*, "These," namely, the people of Asia and Greece: — *quorum salutem, &c.* = *ut eorum salutem, &c.*, "that you should commit their safety to (the care of) such a man." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 1st.—A. & S. § 264. 9. — 11. *Atque hoc (rogant)*, "And this they ask:" — *ejusmodi—ut*, "of such a character, that," &c., referring to the avarice and rapacity of the ordinary governors of provinces. — 12. *Hunc, i. e.*, Pompey.

VI.—1. *Convenit*, "Is it proper?" — *de maximis vestris, &c.*, "your greatest revenues are at stake." — 2. *Tanta sunt*, "Are (only) so great," i. e., "are so small?" — *ut iis ad ipsas, &c.*, "That they scarcely suffice for protecting the provinces themselves;" lit., that we can scarcely be content with these (revenues) for protecting, &c. — 3. *Facile*, "undoubtedly:" — *est defendenda*, "must be defended." B. § 146, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 274, Rem. 8. — 4. *In vectigalibus*, "In the matter of the revenues." — 5. *Pecua*, "The cattle:" — *ex portu, i. e.*, duties on goods exported and imported: — *ex decumis*, "from the tithes," i. e., a tenth of the corn, and a fifth of other produce, paid to the state as rent for the use of the public lands: — *ex scriptura*, "from the pastures." *Scriptura* was a rent paid for pasturage in the woods and public pasture-grounds, so called because a person *subscribed* an engagement to pay a certain sum for each beast: — *totius anni fructus*, "the revenue of a whole year." — 6. *Pensitant*, "pay," from *pendo*, "to weigh;" money was paid by weight: — *exercent atque exigunt*, "farm and collect:" — *propter*, as above Ch. III., Note 7. — 7. *Familias maximas*, "The very large bodies of servants:" — *in Salinis*, "in the salt-pits." This is the reading of all the MSS. Several editors, however, in order to make this correspond with the three sources of revenue mentioned above, instead of *salinis* have proposed *saltibus*, or *salictis*, pasture-lands. There are serious objections, however, to all emendations of the text from mere conjecture: — *custodiis*, "custom-houses." *Custodiæ* means places where the servants of the *publicani* kept watch, lest any goods should pass in or out without paying the appointed duty. — 8. *Qui vobis fructui sunt*, "Who bring to you this advantage." B. § 114, R. xix.—A. & S. § 227, Rem. 3.

VII.—1. *Extremum*, "Last of all?" — *quum essem—dicturus*, "when

I should come to speak." — 2. *Quorum vobis, &c.* Arrange: *quorum ratio diiigenter habenda est vobis, Quirites, pro vestra sapientia*, "Whose interests ought to be carefully attended to by you, &c." — *suas rationes et copias*, "their business and their effects:" — *quorum ipsorum, &c.*, "the affairs and fortunes of these very men on their own account ought to be the objects of your care." — 3. *Nervos*, "The sinews:" — *eum certe ordinem, &c.*, "we will undoubtedly declare that that order of men which farms these revenues, is properly the support of the other orders." — 4. *Deinde*, "And moreover." *Deinde* commonly refers to *primo* or *primum* preceding: here by a sort of anacoluthon, it is related to *et* above—*navi* same as *guavi*, "active," "enterprising"—*partim—partim=alii—alii*, hence *partim ipsi negotiantur*, "some are themselves engaged in business"—"are trading"—*partim . . . habent, &c.* "others have their money to a large amount laid out (invested), &c." — 5. *Illud parvi refert*, "It is of little moment." B. § 113, Exc. i.—A. & S. § 214, Rem. 2. — 6. *Publicanis amissis*, "The revenue farmers being ruined." — 7. *Deinde*, see above Note 4: — *quod nos, &c.* Arrange:—*docti calamitate certe quidem debemus retinere memoria id quod eadem Asia, atque iste idem Mithridates docuit nos, initio belli Asiatici*, i. e., 23 years before. — 8. *Romæ solutione, &c.*, "That public credit was destroyed (lit. fell) when payments became embarrassed at Rome." — 9. *Id quod ipsi videtis*, "As to that which you yourselves see," namely,—*hæc fides, &c.*, "this public credit, and these money affairs, &c." — 10. *Illa*, "The latter," namely, the revenues of Asia—*hæc*, "the former," namely, business affairs at Rome. *Illa* and *hæc* here do not indicate the order in which the things to which they refer are mentioned before, but to the relative distance of their localities—*illa* meaning the affairs of Asia which are most distant; *hæc*, the affairs of Rome being near. — 11. *Num dubitandum vobis sit*, "Whether you ought to hesitate."

VIII.—1. *Dixi*, "I have spoken;" i. e., "I have finished what I had to say." — 2. *In quo maxime (mihi), &c.*, "In this matter my greatest endeavor must be:" — *ne (= ut non) forte, &c.*, "that those things which ought to be most diligently cared for, may not seem to be unworthy of your notice;" lit., "may not seem to be things to be despised by you." — 3. *Dico*, "I acknowledge:" — *ejus adventu, &c.*, "that when he (Lucullus) arrived, the very great forces of Mithridates, &c." Appian says that the army of Mithridates at the beginning of the third war, B. C. 74, consisted of 140,000 infantry, and 16,000 cavalry; while Lucullus had only 30,000 infantry and 1,600 cavalry. — 4. *Urbemque . .*

*Cyzicenorun*, "And that the city of Cyzicus," lit., "of the Cyziceni." This town, celebrated in ancient times, was situated in Mysia, on a neck of land in the Black Sea. In commemoration of the event here recorded, the people instituted a yearly festival in honor of their deliverer, called *Lucullea*. — 5. *Quæ ducibus*, &c., "Which, burning with hatred and desire of revenge, under leaders appointed by Sertorius, was urged on towards Italy." Sertorius had sent some of his followers to Mithridates, who were to attack Italy with a fleet. Lucullus prevented this, by twice conquering the fleet off Tenedos and Lemnos. He made the principal commander, L. Varius, his prisoner, and put him to death. — 6. *Magnas hostium*, &c. In the whole campaign, according to Plutarch, the enemy lost about 300,000 men: — *ex omni aditu*, "on every side;" lit., "from every avenue of approach." — 7. *Sinopen atque Amisum . . . ornatas*, &c. B. § 98, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 2. Sinope was a town in Paphlagonia on the coast of the Euxine; Amisus was east of Sinope, in Pontus: — *uno aditu adventuque*, "by one approach and arrival (before them)." — 8. *Regno patrio*, &c. This Mithridates was the sixth, from the first of that name: — *atque integris vectigalibus*, "and their revenues unimpaired." — 9. *Satis opinor*, &c. Arrange:—*opinor hoc esse satis laudis—qui huic*, &c., "who are opposed to (who decry) this law and measure:" — *ex hoc loco*, scil., the Rostra.

**IX.—1.** *Quemadmodum . . . . reliquum bellum possit esse magnum*, "How what remains of the war can be great." — 2. *Medea illa*, "That Medea," i. e., Medea far-famed in story. She was the daughter of Æetes king of Colchis, from which she fled to Greece with Jason, of whom she had become enamored. See Medea of Euripides. — 3. *Quam prædicant in fuga . . . dissipavisse*, "Who, they say, in her flight, scattered, &c." B. § 145, Obs. 2. — 4. *Ut eorum collectio dispersa*, "That the collecting of them in different places," lit., the dispersed collecting. — 5. *Maximam vim*, &c. Arrange: *Reliquit in Ponto omnem maximam vim*, &c., "Left in Pontus all that vast amount:" — *et ipse*, &c., supply and arrange thus: *et (quas) direptas ex tota Asia, in superiore bello, ipse con-gesserat*, &c. — 6. *Illum*, "The former," scil., the father of Medea—*hos*, "the latter," scil., the soldiers of Lucullus. *Hunc*, Mithridates. — 7. *Næque lacessendas bello, neque tentandas*, "Ought neither to be provoked by war, nor attacked." — 8. *Erat etiam alia*, &c., "There was also another weighty and exciting opinion (prevalent among them)." — 9. *Novo quodam terrore ac metu*, "By a new kind of terror and dread." The temple here referred to was the temple of Bellona at Comana in Cappadocia, which had been once plundered before by Murena, and hence

the present fears. — 10. *Urbem ex Tigrani regno.* The capital city of the kingdom of Tigranes, viz., Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. *Tigran.* The dative limiting *regno.* B. § 106, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 5. This city was strongly fortified, and the chosen residence of the most wealthy men of the kingdom. Lucullus found there 8,000 talents=nearly nine millions of dollars. — 11. *Hic jam plura non dicam.* Cicero here avoids saying any thing more of Lucullus. He had his friends and his enemies at Rome, and it was not his wish to gratify the one, or displease the other. From some cause or other,—some think from his own haughty demeanor; others, the intriguing of his brother-in-law P. Clodius, who afterwards became so infamous,—Lucullus lost the confidence of his soldiers, and his authority over them. A mutiny arose and was quelled with difficulty, and from this proceeded a series of losses and disasters, till he had to quit Armenia. — 12. *Fuit enim illud extremum,* “For the final result was this:” — *quam processio longior,* “than a farther advance:” — 13. *Et eorum,* supply and arrange thus: *Et juvabatur (copiis) eorum qui,* &c. — 14. *Jam hoc,* &c., “We have found this, that it usually turns out nearly in this way:” — *ut iis,* &c., “seeing that (or, since) the name of king seems to them to be great and sacred.” — 15. *Victus,* “After he was conquered,” scil., Mithridates. — 16. *Sinite . . . præterire me,* &c., “Permit me . . . to pass over our calamity.” Mithridates again entered Pontus; and the Romans, first under Fabius, and then under Triarius, lieutenants of Lucullus, suffered a severe defeat, seven thousand being slain; among whom were 150 centurions and 24 tribunes: — *imperatoris,* “of the commander,” Lucullus, then in Mesopotamia. — 17. *Hic in illo ipso malo,* &c., “Here, in this very misfortune, and in the most grievous disaster of the war:” — *modum statuendum,* “that a limit should be put.” Lucullus had now been in command seven years. — 18. *Consulto,* “Designedly,” “on purpose:” — *sed ea vos conjectura perspicite,* “but do ye look at these things in your own conjecture.” Instead of describing how great this war must be, he adroitly sets his hearers to guess for themselves from what he suggests: — *quantum illud,* &c., “how great you think that war has become, which two most powerful kings (Mithridates and Tigranes) unite in carrying on:” — *novus imperator,* scil., Glabrio.

X.—1. *Restat ut . . . videatur dicendum esse = ut dicam,* “It remains that I should speak.” *Ut videatur* is here, as often elsewhere in Cicero, tautological, lit., “It remains, as it seems, that, &c.” — 2. *Ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset,* “That this would be a difficult question for you to settle.” — 3. *Quum sit unus,* &c., “Since Pompey is the only man:”

— *qui . . . virtute superavit*, “who, in bravery has surpassed, &c.” —  
**4.** *In summo imperatore*, “In the consummate general.” These four things, knowledge of the military art, valor, weight of character, and good fortune, as they are found in Pompey, Cicero speaks of in order. Of the first, in the remainder of this chapter; of the second, Ch. XI.—XIV.; of the third, Ch. XV.—XVI.; and of the fourth, Ch. XVI. — **5.** *Aut esse debuit*, “Or ought to be,” i. e., considering the circumstances of his life, to which Cicero here refers in what follows. — **6.** *Qui e ludo . . . profectus est*, &c., “Who set out from school, and from the training of his boyhood.” Immediately after he left school, Pompey, only seventeen years old, entered the army under his father, Pompeius Strabo, and fought in the Social war, here called *maximo bello*, B. C. 89. That war was the more dangerous to Rome because the soldiers on both sides had received the same training. The number of men who perished in it is said to have been 300,000. — **7.** *Qui extrema pueritia*, “Who, in the end of childhood.” This was in the civil war against Cinna, when Pompey likewise served under his father. — **8.** (*Qui*) *ineunte adolescentia*, “Who in his early youth.” At the age of 23, he collected an army in Picenum, with which he joined Sulla, who rewarded him with the title of *Imperator*, B. C. 83. — **9.** *Hoste*, “A public enemy:” — *inimico*, “a personal enemy:” — *concertavit*, “has disputed:” — *confecit*, “has reduced:” — *cujus adolescentia . . . erudita est*, “whose youth was trained:” *offensionibus belli*, “by the misfortunes of war.” — **10.** *Civile*, &c., scil., the war between Sulla and Cinna, &c. Pompey took the part of Sulla—*Africanum*, against Cn. Domitius and Hiarbas, king of Numidia, B. C. 82—*Transalpinum*, against Sertorius, who resisted the march of Pompey into Spain—*Hispaniense*, against Sertorius himself, in Spain: — *mixtum ex incitatis atque bellicosissimis nationibus*, “variously carried on by exasperated and most warlike tribes:” — *Servile*, “the Servile war,” carried on against Spartacus, the leader of the gladiators and slaves: — *navale bellum*, “the naval war,” against the Cilician pirates: — *declarant*, i. e., *genera*, &c., *declarant*.

**XI.—1.** *Neque enim illæ*, &c., “For these are not the only virtues of a commander.” He goes on to mention others, Ch. XIII. — **2.** *Quæ tanta* &c. lit., “And these are so great in this one man, as have not been in all other commanders;” i. e., “these are greater in this one man than in all other; &c.” — **3.** *Testis est Italia*, (of this truth) “Italy is a witness.” A metonymy for the people of Italy. This refers to the civil war against the party of Marius, in which Sulla was victorious: — *hujus virtute*, “by his (Pompey’s) bravery.” — **4.** *Sicilia*, &c. Pompey, be-



fore going to Africa, drove Perpenna from Sicily, made Carbo his prisoner, and put him to death, B. C. 82. — 5. *Eorum ipsorum*, "Of these very (enemies)." — 6. *Hostes superatos*, &c. This, however, was not till after the death of Sertorius. While he lived, the success of Pompey in Spain was inconsiderable. — 7. *Tetro periculosoque*, "Disgraceful and dangerous," so called, because waged against slaves and gladiators under Spartacus. In several of these instances there is not a little oratorical exaggeration in favor of Pompey. — 8. *Exteræ gentes ac nationes*, "Foreign kingdoms and tribes." *Gens* properly means a whole race of the same descent; *natio*, a particular people or tribe sprung from that race: — *quum universa, tum*, "not only as a whole, but." — 9. *Toto mari*, scil., the Mediterranean: — *qui non committeret*, "who did not expose:" — *referto prædonum*, "swarming with pirates." B. § 107, Obs. 9.—A. & S. § 213, Rem. 1. (2) and (3). — 10. *Tam vetus*, "So long continued" (lit. "so old"). It had already lasted for twenty years. *Omnibus annis*. Pompey terminated this war in about three months. See end of next chapter. — 11. *Cui præsidio*, &c., "To what (nation) have you been a protection by your fleets?"

**XII.—1.** *Longinqua*, "Distant (transactions)." In opposition to these, he proceeds to mention things comparatively near. — 2. *Fuii — fuit*, the repetition of the verb gives emphasis to the expression: — *hoc* refers to the following clause. — 3. *A Brundisio*. Brundisium was a city on the coast of Apulia, in the south of Italy, from which they usually set sail for Greece: — *nisi hieme summa*, "except in the midst of winter," scil., when the pirates did not venture from their concealments. — 4. *Qui*, supply as antecedent *eos*, the subject of *captos (esse)*. — 5. *Duodecim secures*, "Twelve lictors," lit., "axes." The prætor in the provinces was attended by six lictors, each carrying the *fascæ*, or bundle of rods, with an axe in the centre, as the symbol of power. The meaning then is: two prætors (scil., Sextilius and Balbinus) with their attendants. — 6. *Cnidum, &c.*, Cnidus was a Doric town on the coast of Caria, opposite to Rhodes; and Colophon was an Ionian city on the coast of Lydia: — *innumerabilesque alias*. The number of towns captured by the pirates is said to have been about four hundred: — 7. *Inspectante prætore*, "When the prætor was looking on." The prætor referred to, was M. Antonius Creticus, the father of M. Antonius, the triumvir. — 8. *Ex Miseno*, &c., supply *an ignoratis* from the preceding sentence. Misenum was a port and cape in Campania. From this port the daughter of Antonius was carried off by pirates, and afterwards ransomed for a great sum. *Liberos* in the plural, for the singular, a usage not uncom-

mon. — 9. *Ostiense*, “At Ostia.” Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was the seaport of Rome, and only 13 miles distant. The consul referred to is not named, and is not now known. — 10. *Unius hominis*, scil., Pompey: — *intra oceani ostium*, lit., “within the mouth of the ocean,” scil., the straits of Gibraltar; i. e., in the whole Mediterranean sea. — 11. *Obeundi negotii*, “Of transacting business:” — *tantos cursus*, “so many voyages:” — *quam celeriter = tum celeriter quam*, &c., “with so much rapidity as, under the leading of Pompey, the impetuous force of war sped along.” *Impetus belli*, a poetic circumlocution for *bellum*; and as this force consisted of ships, hence the propriety of *navigavit*. — 12. *Nondum tempestivo*, “Not yet being fit,” or “seasonable.” The season for commencing navigation among the Romans, was about the middle of April, or even later: — *frumentaria*, “granaries.” From these countries Rome derived her chief supplies of grain. — 13. *Confirmata*, agrees with *Gallia*, though it belongs also to *Hispaniis*. B. § 98, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 205, Exe. to Rem. 2. Spain was divided by the Iberus (Ebro) into hither and further Spain, just as Gaul was divided by the Alps into Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. Hence the use of the plural forms *Hispanie* and *Gallie*. — 14. *Italiæ duo maria*, “The two seas of Italy,” scil., the Adriatic and the Tuscan; the one on the east, and the other on the west. — 15. *Imperio ac potestati*, “To the entire disposal,” “absolute control.” When distinguished, *imperium* means military authority, *potestas*, civil authority. — 16. *Idem*, Pompey: — *Cretensibus*, the dative governed by *ademit*, a verb of taking away. For the rationale of this construction see B. § 123, Explanation. Crete, next to Cilicia, was the greatest nursery of the pirates, and one of their chief receptacles. As the war against Crete had been committed to Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the interference of Pompey was not considered entirely honorable: — *imperavit*, “demanded.”

XIII.—1. *Est hæc divina*, “Such is the divine.” — 2. *Quid cetera*, &c. *Quid* is frequently prefixed to interrogative sentences merely for the sake of emphasis, or to call particular attention to the question proposed, and in translating may be omitted. Thus here: “How great and how many are the other virtues which, &c.?” To make the construction full, supply *censes*, *ais*, or the like; as, *quid censes?* “what think you?” — *bellandi virtus*, “ability in war:” — *artes*, “qualities:” — *administræ*, “hand-maids.” — 3. *Quanta innocentia*. B. § 106, R. vii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 6. *Innocentia* means that disposition of mind which does hurt to no one: — *temperantia*, “self-control:” — *fide*, “good faith:” — *facilitate*, “affability,” “easiness of access:” — *ingenio*, “natural

ability," "talent:" — *quæ*, "these qualities." — 4. *Ex aliorum contentione*, "By comparison with others." — 5. *Ullo in numero putare*, "Hold in any estimation:" — *centuriatus veneant*, &c., "commissions are now, or heretofore, have been sold." — 6. *Quid hunc*, &c. Arrange and supply thus: *quid magnum aut amplum (possumus putare) hunc hominem cogitare de republica, qui*, &c.: — *cupiditatem provincie*, "the desire of retaining his province." The time of command in a province was sometimes lengthened out: — *in questu*, "at interest." — 7. *Vestra admurmuratio facit*, "Your expressions of indignation show." *Facit* has for its object the whole clause *ut—fecerint*;—again, *agnoscere* has for its object the clause *qui hæc fecerint*, in which *qui* is not a relative, but the indefinite from *quis*. — 8. *Nisi qui*, "unless he," or "he who." — 9. *Ferant*, "Bring (with them)." — 10. *Itinera quæ per hosce annos*, "The marches which of late years:" — *recordamini*, the imperative. — 11. *Utrum*, as an interrogative word, is used only in double questions, and asks concerning one of two or more objects. Observe the antithesis between *hostium urbes*, and *sociorum civitates*—also, between *armis* and *hibernis*: — *continere*, "to restrain:" — *neque (potest) severus esse*, "nor can he be strict." — 12. *Hunc hominem*, scil., Pompey: — *sic*, "in such a way," "with such perfect discipline." — 13. *Quemadmodum milites hibernent*, "How his soldiers conduct themselves in winter quarters." Pompey's army was still encamped in Asia on the frontiers of Cilicia. — 14. *Ut sumptum faciat in militem*, "to be at expense for the soldiery." — 15. *Hicmis perfugium*, &c., "A shelter from the winter, not for the indulgence of rapacity."

XIV.—1. *Age vero*, "But come." *Age* alone, or with *vero*, *nunc*, *dum*, &c., is used adverbially to indicate a transition, and excite attention. It is here used before a plural verb, *considerate*: — *qua sit temperantia*, "of what temperance he is," (moderation, self-control) synonymous with *continentia* below: ablative of quality. B. § 106, R. vii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 6. The common text has *qualis* in the nominative. — 2. *Cursum*, "Progress," "dispatch:" — *inventum (esse)*, "was attained." 3. *Vis*, "Strength," "power:" — *aut ars*, "or skill." — 4. *Non avaritia . . . devocavit*, "Avarice did not turn him aside"—"allure him." This contrasts strongly with what is said of the soldiers of Lucullus, Chap. IX.: — *non libido*, Pompey sent back the mistresses of Mithridates to their relatives: — *non nobilitas*, &c. This seems to allude to Athens, where Pompey offered up a sacrifice, and then sailed away after having addressed his soldiers. — 5. *Signa et tabulas*, &c.—*ea sibi ille*, &c., "As to the statues, paintings, &c., these things he thought ought not

even to be visited by him." *Ea* is in apposition with *signa, tabulas, ornamenta*—collects them under one term, and is the subject of *esse* understood. — 6. *Hac continentia*, "Of this moderation," viz., which Pompey now spoken of always displayed. See Note 2: — *quod*, "which," refers to the preceding clause, *fuisse homines*, &c., as its antecedent. — 7. *Non sine causa* belongs to the following clause, *majores suos . . . miluisse*: — *servire*, "to be in subjection." — 8. *Principibus*, "The highest," antithetic to *infinis*, "the lowest," "the humblest:" in the dative, governed by *excellit*. B. § 112, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 223, Rem. 2. — 9. *Quantum valeat*, "How great an influence he has," lit., "how much he is able to do." This whole clause is the object of *cognovistis*: — *consilio*, "by his wisdom:" — *hoc ipso ex loco*, scil., *ex Rostris*, from which he was wont to address the people. — 10. *Fidem*, "His good faith:" — *hostes omnes omnium generum*, "all his enemies of every description." The common text has *hostes omnium gentium*, meaning "the pirates," which seems too limited and feeble to consist with the strain of panegyric here used. — 11. *Quin hoc tantum bellum*, "That this so great a war," scil., against Mithridates. To commit the management of this war to Pompey was the object of the Manilian law, for which Cicero was pleading: — *nostræ memoriæ*, "of our time."

XV.—1. *Ea re*, scil., *auctoritate*. — 2. *Vehementer autem*, &c. Observe that, in this sentence, *pertinere* depends on the leading verb *ignorat*, and also has for its subject the clause *quid—existiment*, "who does not know that what enemies, &c.?—has much to do with (has great influence on) the management of wars:" — *ut aut contemnant*, "either to despise, &c.:" — *opinionem et famam*, "by their opinion (of a commander) or by his reputation:" — *quam aliqua ratione certa*, "than by some definite reason." — 3. *Quod igitur nomen*. The interrogative *quod* always has its substantive in the same case—*quid* is without its substantive, or governs it in the genitive. B. § 34, Obs. 2: — *de quo homine*, "concerning what man"—*id—auctoritatem* is parenthetical and assertive. Cicero here alludes to the honors and dignities conferred on Pompey, especially at an age when it was not customary to be so honored. He was allowed a triumph before he had attained the proper age, he was sent against Sertorius with proconsular command, though he was only quæstor, and he was made consul in his 35th year, though the legal age was 43, and without passing through the inferior offices. — 4. *Quo non illius diei fama pervaserit?* "Whither has not the fame of that day reached," viz., when the Gabinian law was passed, by which the management of the war against the pirates was committed to Pompey: — *sibi—depoposeit*, "demanded

for themselves," i. e., "demanded Pompey alone as their commander, for the common war of all nations." — 5. *Omnium rerum egregiarum*, "Of every thing illustrious:" — *qui quo die*, "on the day on which he:" — *vilitas annonæ*, "the cheapness of grain." — 6. *Jam*, "Moreover:" — *accepta in Ponto calamitate*, "after the calamity was sustained in Pontus;" alluding to the defeat of Triarius. See Chap. IX., Note 16: — *ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis*, lit., "at the very crisis of that time," i. e., "at the critical moment:" — *divinitus*, "providentially." — 7. *Ipsa nomine ac rumore*, "By his very name and reputation."

**XVI.—1.** *Age vero*. Ch. XIV., Note 1: — *illa res—quod*, "this fact, namely, that, &c." — 2. *Noster imperator*, scil., Metellus: — *in ultimas—terras*, "to the extremities of the empire," viz., to Pamphylia, which was at a great distance from Rome. — 3. *Quid?* "Nay," "furthermore." Ch. XIII., Note 1: *eum quem*, "one whom." Before *ii* supply *sed quem*; thus: *sed quem ii quibus*, &c., "but whom those who were always displeased (lit., to whom it was always offensive) that he had been sent especially to him (Pompey), wished to be considered as a spy rather than as an ambassador." — 4. *Hanc auctoritatem*. Arrange thus: *quantum existimetis hanc auctoritatem* (scil., Pompeii), *amplificatam multis rebus gestis postea* ("by many subsequent exploits") *magnisque vestris judiciis valituram esse apud illos reges*. — 5. *Ut de felicitate*, &c. Arrange: *ut dicamus timide et pauca—sicut æquum est homines (dicere) de potestate deorum—de felicitate quam nemo potest præstare* ("exhibit") *de se ipso (sed quam) possumus*, &c. *Felicitas*, "good fortune." Chap. X., Note 4: — *de potestate deorum*, i. e., "concerning that which is at the disposal of the gods." — 6. *Maximo*, &c.,—datives dependent on *mandata esse*, and *commissos esse*. B. § 126, Rule iii. The persons mentioned are Q. Fabius Maximus, who conquered Hannibal in the Second Punic war, by delaying; hence called *Cunctator*—M. Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse; he was five times made consul—Scipio, probably Africanus the younger—C. Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and Teutones—he was consul seven times. — 7. *Fuit enim*, &c. Arrange: *enim profecto quadam fortuna divinitus adjuncta fuit quibusdam*, &c. — 8. *Præterita meminisse*, &c., "To be mindful of the past, —to hope for the future:" — *ne aut invisæ*, &c., "that my speech may not seem to be either offensive to the immortal gods, or wanting in gratitude." — 9. *Non sum predicaturus*, "I am not going to boast:" — *obtemperarint*, "yielded to:" — *obedierint*, "obeyed:" — *obsecundarint*, "favored." All these verbs have *voluntatibus* for their object. — 10. *Qui—tacitus auderet optare*, "As even silently to dare to wish:" —

*quot et quantas*, correlates of *tot et tantas*, and together may be rendered, "as." B. § 99, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 206, (16). — 11. *Quod ut illi, &c.* "And that this may be his peculiar and lasting privilege:" — *velle*, "to wish:" — *optare*, "to express the wish." — 12. *Quare quum, &c.* Thus he concludes his argument respecting the pre-eminent qualifications of Pompey for conducting this war, Chap. X., Note 4. — 13. *Dubitabitis—quin conferatis hoc tantum boni, &c.*, "Will you hesitate to employ this so great advantage, &c.?"

XVII.—1. *In iis ipsis locis*, "On the spot," scil., in Asia: — *accipere statim possit, &c.*, "that he can immediately receive troops from those who have them (there)," namely, Lucullus and Glabrio. — 2. *Quid cœspectamus?* "What do we wait for?" — 3. *Cur non, duobus diis, &c.?* "Why, the immortal gods being our leaders, do we not commit this royal war likewise to the same (commander) to whom other (wars) have been committed with the greatest safety of the state?" — 4. *At enim, &c.* *At* introduces an objection, and *enim*, the reason for it; thus: "But (it appears, this you must not do), for Q. Catulus," &c. Catulus opposed the Manilian law under the pretext that it would expose such a man as Pompey to too great danger: — *itemque Q. Hortensius*, "and likewise Q. Hortensius." He was a distinguished orator and honorable man, who was at the head of the bar at Rome for 13 years, and held some of the highest offices of the state: — *multis locis*, "on many occasions." — 5. *Tametsi cognoscetis, &c.*, "Although you will find the opinions of the bravest and most renowned men contrary (to each other)," i. e., "conflicting." The last part of this sentence is ambiguous; it may mean, "contrary to their opinion"—"to my opinion"—"to each other." Of these, the last is preferred: — *omissis auctoritatibus*, "authorities aside:" — *ipsa re ac ratione*, "by the subject itself and by reasoning:" — *iidem isti*, "those same persons," scil., Catulus and Hortensius. — 6. *Si uni, &c.*, supply *ait*. He says, "if all things (unlimited power, as the Manilian law proposed) are to be committed to one person, that Pompey is the only man most worthy (of such a trust)." — 7. *Ista oratio*, "That argument:" — *re*, "by facts." — 8. *Pro tua summa copia*, "With your great fluency:" — *graviter ornateque*, "forcibly and elegantly:" — *legem promulgasset*, "had brought forward the law." A. Gabinius was tribune, B. C. 67, and, by the law here referred to, carried through by him against the most determined opposition, unlimited command, in the whole Mediterranean and its coasts, was conferred on Pompey alone, the successful result of which has been already noticed, Chap. XII. — 9. *Et vera causa*, "And the true interests:" — *hodie hanc gloriam, &c.?*

"Would we this day be holding this glory and this dominion over the whole world?" (scil., which we now possess.) — 10. *An tibi, &c.?* "Did it then seem to you that we possessed this power, when, &c.?" — *capiebantur*, "were constantly taken captive:" — *commeatu*, "from supplies:" — *rem obire*, "transact business."

XVIII.—1. *Atheniensium, &c.* Before these genitives, supply *civitatem* after *dico*. Athens was a maritime power from the time of Themistocles till the end of the Peloponnesian war, and afterwards again under Conon. The naval power of the Carthaginians was for a long time unrivalled in the Mediterranean. The Rhodians were still celebrated for their naval skill and discipline. They were allied with Rome, and supported her in her maritime wars. — 2. *Tam tenuis*, "So feeble:" — *quæ non—per se ipsa defenderet*, "as not by herself to defend." B. § 141, Rule ii. and § 98, Exc. 5.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 3. *Aliquot annos continuos*, "For some years in succession:" — *ad nostram memoriam*, "to our day:" — *invictum*, "invincible:" — *utilitatis*, "of their revenue:" — *caruit*, "were deprived." — 4. *Antiochum*. The fleet of Antiochus, king of Syria, was defeated in two naval engagements by the Romans: first, by C. Livius, near Phocæa; and second, by L. Æmilius Regillus, near Teos, B. C. 242. There is no mention in history of any naval victory having been gained over Perses. — 5. *Idi nullo in loco*, "We, I say, in no place." When a noun or pronoun is far separated by intervening clauses from the words with which it is in construction, the connection is again formed, not by repeating the same word as in English, but by substituting for it the pronoun *is* or *idem*. Thus: *nos*, in this sentence, being separated from its verb, *poteramus*, by the intervening relative clause, is resumed at the end of that clause by *id*, in its stead, which of course is to be rendered "*we*." This, however, is seldom done with words in the first or second person, but is quite common with words of the third; and still more so in Greek: see Greek Gr. § 133. 5. — 6. *Insula Delos*. After the destruction of Corinth, Delos, with its excellent harbor, became the principal naval station between Europe and Asia. Being destroyed in the Mithridatic war, it never recovered its importance: — *quo omnes commeabant*, "whither all resorted for trade." — 7. *Idem*, "Even we." used in the same way as *id* in the preceding sentence, Note 5: — *Appia via*. This road led from Rome through Capua to Brundisium, and where it approached the sea, seems to have been infested with pirates. — 8. *In hunc ipsum locum*, "Into this very place," scil., the Rostra: — *eum*, "it," scil., the Rostra.

**XIX.—1.** *Bono animo*, “With a good intention.” — **2.** *Dolori suo maluit*, &c., “Chose to regard their own sufferings rather than your authority.” — **3.** *Una lex*, the Gabinian—*unus vir*, Pompey. — **4.** *Quo mihi etiam*, &c., “On this account, it appears to me even the more unworthy, that opposition should hitherto have been made, to Gabinius, shall I say,” &c.: — *ne legarctur A. Gabinius*, “that A. Gabinius should not be appointed lieutenant.” The Ætutian, as well as the Licinian law forbade the proposer of a law concerning any charge or power, to assume that charge or power, or to derive any advantage from it. The soundness of this law as a general rule is manifest, as a means of preventing corruption and political jobbing. Still it had come to be so much disregarded, that Cicero, referring to precedents, insisted on the propriety of having Gabinius appointed as lieutenant under Pompey, in that war, to the management of which Pompey had been appointed under the Gabinian law. To this, however, successful opposition was made, and very properly, not only on account of the principle involved, but also on account of the infamous character of Gabinius himself. The only thing astonishing in the matter is, that Cicero, knowing as he did the character of Gabinius, should have so strenuously advocated his appointment. — **5.** *Utrum*, see above Ch. XIII., Note 11: — *idoneus qui impetret*, “worthy to obtain.” B. § 141, Rule ii., Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 264. 9. **6.** *Expers esse*, “To be without a share.” — **7.** *Honoris causa*, “With great respect.” This expression more commonly means, “for the sake of honor,” “out of respect:” — *consilio ipsius*, &c., “by his wisdom and at his risk,” for had the enterprise failed, the odium of failure would have come on Gabinius as the author of the law. — **8.** *In uno Gabinio*, &c., “Are C. Falcidius, &c., so strict in the case of Gabinius alone, who—ought to be, even in a special right (i. e., to have a special claim, scil., to such an appointment), in this war, which, &c.” — **9.** *Per vos ipse* (= *per vos ipsos*), “Through yourselves.” See I. Or. in Cat. Ch. II., Note 9, with references. — **10.** *De quo legando*, “About appointing him as lieutenant:” — *qui si*, “and if they.” B. § 99, Obs. 8. — **11.** *Quo minus defendam*, “From defending.” This construction of *quominus* with the imperfect subjunctive is much more common. B. § 45, ii. 3.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 9. The present is here used as a proper sequence to the future before it. — **12.** *Præter intercessionem*, “Except intercession,” i. e., the *veto* of the tribunes, who had a right to prevent a decree, or a discussion of the senate by their intercession: — *quid liceat*, “how far they can go,” lit., “what it may be allowed to them (to do).” — **13.** *Socius adscribitur* (= *dignus qui adscribatur*), “Is a fit person to be enrolled as the



assistant of Pompey." — 14. *Alter uni—alter*. The first *alter* refers to Gabinius; the second, to Pompey—*uni*, also to Pompey.

XX.—1. *Ut—dicendum esse videatur*, a pleonasm in Cicero's style for *ut dicam*, "That I should speak." See above, Chap. XIII., Note 1. — 2. *Qui quum*, "For when he." B. § 99, Obs. 8: — *si quid eo* (often, *de eo factum esset*, "if any thing should befall him," i. e., "if he should die." A mode of speaking then, and even still used, to avoid a painful, or ill omened expression: — *in quo spem essetis habituri*, "in whom you would place your hope:" — *cepit*, "he (scil., Catulus) obtained:" — *in ipso*, scil., *Catulo*. When, in a speech against the Gabinian law, Catulus asked the question here mentioned, it is said the people cried out with one voice, *te, Quinte Catule*, "you, Quintus Catulus," an exclamation highly complimentary, as placing him on a level with Pompey himself. — 3. *In hoc ipso*, "In this very thing," viz., the argument of Catulus, that it would expose Pompey to too great danger: — *ab eo*, "from him" (Catulus). — 4. *At enim*. This expression introduces an objection understood, with the reason of it; thus: "But (you will say, this is highly improper) for (it is right) that nothing new should be done, contrary, &c." See above, Chap. XVII., Note 4. — 5. *Paruisse*, "Yielded to," "consulted:" — *semper ad novos*, &c., "that they always adapted new measures (lit., the plans of new counsels) to new emergencies:" — *poneretur*, "should be placed," dependent on *esse visum*. — 6. *Quam multa sint nova constituta in ipso Cn. Pompeio*, "How many things contrary to custom (lit., new things), have been established by you in the case of Cn. Pompey himself:" — *summa Q. Catuli voluntate*, "with the full approbation of Q. Catulus:" — *recordamini*, "call to mind,"—the imperative.

XXI.—1. *Adolescentulum*, "That a very young man." Pompey was then in his 23d year: — *conficere*, "levy," "get together:" — *ductu suo*, "under his own guidance," i. e., in person. — 2. *A senatorio gradu*, from the senatorial age, viz., 32 years: — *confecit*, "terminated," "brought to an end:" — *deportavit*, "brought home." — 3. *Equitem Romanum triumphare*, "That a Roman knight should celebrate a triumph," "should have the honor of a triumph." Sulla being then dictator, granted the honor of a triumph to Pompey after his return from Africa, in his twenty-fifth year. — 4. *Eam rem*, scil., *triumphare*: — *visendam*, "should be visited," i. e., that people should go to see it: — *pro consule*, "in place of a consul," "with consular power." — 5. *Non nemo*, "Some one." *Nemo non*, means "every one." B. § 134, Obs. 3.—

A. & S. § 277, Rem. 3, and 4: — *non pro consule, sed pro consulibus*, “not in place of one, but of both consuls,” being more worthy of such a trust than both of them together—not very complimentary to the consuls of that year.— 6. *Legibus solutus*, “The laws being dispensed with,” lit., “having been exempted from the laws,” scil., the *leges annales*, prescribing the age at which persons were qualified to be chosen to the several offices of the state, viz., to be a quæstor, one must be 31; ædile, 37; prætor, 40; consul, 43. Pompey was elected consul at 36, when he was not old enough to hold the office of ædile according to law. — 7. *Iterum*, “A second time.” This was at the close of the war against Sertorius, B. C. 71. — 8. *Quæ in omnibus, &c.*, “Whatever novelties have been established among all men since the memory of men.” — 9. *Profecta sunt, &c.*, “Have originated to the same man (Pompey) from the recommendation:” — *ejusdem dignitatis*, genitive of quality. B. § 106, R. vii.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 6.

**XXII.—1.** *Quare videant, &c.*, “Wherefore, let them consider whether it is not.” *Videant*, used optatively in the subjunctive to express a wish, and equivalent to *volo ut videant*. B. § 42, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 260, Rem. 6: — *illorum auctoritatem, &c.*, “that their views concerning the advancement of Cn. Pompey, have always been approved of by you.” — **2.** *Suo jure*, “Of their own right,” without having to ask the permission of any—“with a perfect right:” — *suum auctoritatem*, “their own choice,” judgment, or opinion, in this matter:— *iisdem istis*, referring to Hortensius and Catulus: — *regere*, “to regulate.” — **3.** *Sin autem* introduces a protasis of an opposite character, “But if, on the contrary,” and belongs to both the verbs *vidistis* and *attulistis*: — *vos plus tum . . . vidistis*, “you saw more at that time” (than they did): — *aliquando isti principes, &c.*, “now at length let these leaders (of the senate) acknowledge that it belongs to them and others to obey the will of the whole Roman people.” *Fateantur*, used as *videant*, Note 1. *Parendum* governs the datives *sibi* and *ceteris* by B. § 147, R. lxi., where also see foot-note; and *auctoritate* by B. § 112, R. v., Obs. 5, 3d.—A. & S. § 223, Rem. 2. — **4.** *Bello regio*, so called, because against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and Trigranes, king of Armenia. — **5.** *Interiorum nationum*, “Of the more inland nations,” i. e., nations more remote from the Mediterranean sea: — *ita versari nostrum imperatorem*, “for our own commander so to be employed.” — **6.** *Pudore ac temperantia*, “From modesty and self-control,” ablative of cause: — *tales*, “such,” i. e., *moderatiores*: — *propter multitudinem, &c.*, is the adjunct of *arbitratur*. — **7.** *Per hos annos*, “Of late years.” — **8.** *Nostris magistratibus*

*religiosum . . . fuisse*, "Has been holy to our magistrates," i. e., "has been considered holy by our magistrates." Dative of the object. B. § 109, 2.—A. & S. § 222. — 9. *Quibus causa belli inferatur*, "Against which, some pretext of war may be alleged." — 10. *Coram*, "In your presence" (supply *vobis*), i. e., "openly." — *sociorum vulnera*, "the sufferings of our allies:" — 11. *Pro sociis*, "In defence of your allies:" — *an hostium simulatione*, &c., "or in pretence of being against enemies, really against allies and friends." — 12. *Animos ac spiritus capere possit*, "Can satisfy the greediness and rapacity."

**XXIII.—1.** *Etiam si quem habetis*, supply *imperatorem*, "Allowing that you have a commander." *Quem* is indefinite, meaning, "some," or, in the sense of the English article *a* or *an*. "Some commander," "a commander." — 2. *Signis collatis*, "In a pitched battle," lit., "the standards being advanced" (against the enemy): — *qui videatur*, "who may seem to you"—"may be thought by you." — 3. *Nisi erit idem, qui*, "Unless he also shall be one who:" — *idoneus qui mittatur*, "(a person) fit to be sent." B. § 141, Rule ii., Obs. 2. 1st.—A. & S. § 264. 9. — 4. *Quæ locuples sit*, "Which is still wealthy:" — *quæ istis pacata esse videatur*, "which appears to such men to be subdued." The idea expressed by these interrogatories is,—that so long as a state has any thing to plunder, pretences for war will be found, and when it is completely impoverished, it will be considered as subdued, and war will cease. Compare Tac. Agricola, 30, "*aufferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant.*" The opinion of the Caledonian commander is not much worse than that of the Roman orator. — 5. *Continentiam*, "His moderation." — 6. *Videbat*, i. e., *maritima ora videbat*: — *prætores . . . præter paucos*, "that the prætors (commanders) with few exceptions:" — *neque eos quidquam*, &c., "and that, by the name of their fleets, they accomplished nothing else but:" — *detrimentis accipiendis*, "by sustaining losses." The gerundive, B. § 147, Obs. 5.—A. & S. § 275, Rem. 4. — 7. *Qua cupiditate*, "With what cupidity," i. e., "with what avaricious views:" — *quibus jacturis*, "with what expenses," lit., "squanderings," viz., of money in bribery. — 8. *Quum suis virtutibus, tum*, &c., "Not only by his own virtues, but also by the vices of others." — 9. *Quin credatis*, "To entrust:" — *est auctor vobis . . . P. Servilius*, "you have, as authority, P. Servilius," lit., "P. Servilius is authority to you." P. Servilius was consul, B. c. 79, and defeated the Isaurians, a tribe in Cilicia. He also waged war against the pirates, who had taken refuge in Isauria, and united Cilicia with the Roman empire: — *est*

(*auctor vobis*) *G. Curio*.—C Scribonius Curio was consul, B. C. 76, and, in the year after, subdued the Dardanians in Thrace; in consequence of which he celebrated a triumph, B. C. 71: — *summis vestris beneficiis*, &c. All these ablatives depend on *præditus*, which, however, is properly connected only with *ingenio* and *prudencia*, and with *beneficiis* and *rebus gestis*, only by a sort of zeugma (B. § 150, 1, 2d.—A. & S. § 323. 1, (2)), instead of which *insignis*, or *conspiciuus*, would be a better word: — *omnes*, “ye all:” — *pro amplissimis vestris honoribus*, “in proportion to the very illustrious honors bestowed on him by you.” — 10. *Integritate*, supply *vir*, i. e., *vir singulari integritate*, &c. — 11. *Ut horum auctoritatibus*, &c., “That, with the authority of these men (just mentioned), we seem to have it in our power to reply to the remarks of those who differ from us.”

XXIV.—1. *Istam tuam et legem*, &c., “Both that law, and purpose, and opinion of thine.” This is spoken to Manilius, the proposer of this law, to encourage him to persevere in maintaining it before the people: — *auctore populo Romano*, “with the support of the Roman people,” lit., “the Roman people being in your favor.” — 2. *Satis animi perseverantiveque*, “Sufficient courage and perseverance:” — *iterum*, “a second time.” The first was on the occasion of the Gabinian law: — *aut de re*, &c., “either concerning the thing itself (i. e., the law now before the people), or concerning the ability of carrying it into effect.” — 3. *Quidquid . . . possum*, “Whatever I can effect:” — *id omne*, &c., “all that I promise and make over.” — 4. *Neque quo . . . putem*, “Nor because I think that the favor of Pompey may be procured to me by means of this cause:” — *aut adjuncta honoribus*, “or aid for the attaining of honors,” alluding to the honor of the consulship, the only one which he had not yet attained; and some supposed, and probably hinted, that Cicero had in view the attaining of this through the influence of Pompey, of whom he speaks so highly in this oration. Such a motive he here distinctly and solemnly disavows: — *ut hominem præstare oportet*, “as a man ought to do.” — 5. *Neque ab uno*, &c., “Neither from one man (alluding to Pompey), nor from this place,” viz., the Rostra: — *si vestra voluntas feret*, “if your pleasure will permit”—speaking of the people as sovereign and supreme. — 6. *Tantum abest ut*, &c., “So far am I from seeming to have sought any favorable influence, that I perceive, &c.” Here the subject of *abest*, is the clause following, viz., *ut . . . videar*, and *ut intelligam* depends on *tantum*; the whole literally rendered is, “that I should seem, &c., is so far from me, that, &c.” — 7. *Multas etiam simultates*, “Even many enmities,” i. e., “the enmity of many,” namely, of Lucullus and the enemies

of Pompey, whose influence of course would be exerted against Cicero: — *mihî non necessarias*, “and not necessary to me,” i. e., from which he gained no advantage, and might have avoided: — *vobis non inutiles*, “not without advantage to you,” as it would lead them to examine the subject, and help them to understand better what was for their interests. — 8. *Sed ego, &c.* Arrange: *sed ego statui oportere me, præditum hoc honore* (scil., the prætorship, which Cicero now enjoyed), *affectionem tantis vestris beneficiis præferre vestram voluntatem, &c.*: — *meis omnibus commodis, &c.*, “to all my own private interests and plans.”

## ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THIS beautiful oration was made in the 55th year of Cicero's age, upon the following occasion. In the year of Rome, 701, and *b. c.* 52, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus, were candidates for the consulship; and, according to Plutarch, pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if it had been to be carried only by money or arms. P. Clodius, Milo's professed enemy, stood at the same time for the prætorship, and used all his interest to disappoint Milo, by whom, if elected consul, he was sure to be controlled in the exercise of his magistracy. The senate, and the better sort, were generally in favor of Milo; and Cicero, in particular, served him with the greatest zeal. Three of the tribunes were violent against him; the other seven were his fast friends, especially M. Cœlius, who, out of regard to Cicero, was very active in his service. But whilst matters were proceeding in a very favorable train for him, and nothing seemed wanting to crown his success but to bring on the election, which his adversaries for that reason endeavored to keep back, all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencounter with Clodius. On the 20th of January, *b. c.* 51, Milo set out on a journey to Lanuvium. Near Bovillæ, he met Clodius, who was returning to Rome, after visiting some of his property. Both were accompanied by armed followers, but Milo's party was the stronger. The two antagonists had passed each other without disturbance; but two of the gladiators in the rear of Milo's troop, picked a quarrel with some of the followers of Clodius, who immediately turned round, and rode up to the scene of dispute, when he was wounded in the shoulder by one of the gladiators. The fray now became general, and the party of Clodius being put to flight, betook themselves with their leader to a house near Bovillæ.

Milo ordered his men to attack the house; several of Clodius's men were slain, and Clodius himself dragged out and dispatched. His body was left in the Appian road, but was soon after taken up by Tedi, a senator, who happened to come by, and brought it to Rome, where it was exposed, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds, to lament the miserable fate of their leader. The next day Sextus Clodius, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief incendiaries, together with the three tribunes hostile to Milo, employed all the arts of party and faction to inflame the mob, which they did to such a height of fury, that snatching up the body, they ran with it into the senate-house; and, tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and, together with the body, burned up the house itself, with a *basilica*, or public hall adjoining. Several other outrages were committed, so that the senate were obliged to pass a decree—"that the *inter-rex*, assisted by the tribunes and Pompey, should take care that the republic received no detriment, and that Pompey in particular should raise a body of troops for the common security." These he presently drew together from all parts of Italy. Amidst this confusion, the rumor of a dictator being industriously spread, and alarming the senate, they resolved presently to create Pompey the single consul, whose election was accordingly declared by the *inter-rex*, after an interregnum of near two months. Pompey applied himself immediately to quiet the public disorders, and published several new laws prepared by him for that purpose; one of them was to appoint a special commission to inquire into the death of Clodius, &c., and to appoint an extraordinary judge of consular rank to preside in it. He attended Milo's trial himself, with a strong guard to preserve peace. The accusers were young Appius, the nephew of Clodius, M. Antonius, and P. Valerius. Cicero was the only advocate on Milo's side, but as soon as he rose to speak, he was met with so rude a clamor by the friends of Clodius, and so discomposed by the sight of an armed soldiery which surrounded the seat of judgment, that he was disconcerted and confused, and fell far short of his usual excellence and power. Milo was condemned, and, a few days afterwards, went into exile at Marseilles. Cicero wrote out the oration afterwards as it was intended to be delivered, and as we now have it, and sent a copy of it to Milo in his exile.

Much of the excellence of the character of Milo, as here described, must be attributed to the embellishments of oratory, or the partialities of friendship. Though free from gross vices, with which the character of Clodius was stained, he was not remarkable as a patriot, but unscrupulous and daring, sought for office by violence and intrigue, with a view

to relieve himself from the heavy debt in which he was involved. The close of his life was equally inglorious. He expected to be recalled from exile by Cæsar, but was disappointed. M. Cœlius, his former friend, now expelled from his office on account of revolutionary measures, required desperate allies to carry out his purposes, and invited Milo to join him in Italy. He appeared in Campania, and at the head of those who survived of his former gladiatorial bands, with reinforcements of herdsmen, criminals, and runaway slaves, proclaimed himself a legate of Cn. and Sextus Pompey, and made opposition to Cæsar while he was absent in Thessaly. He was met by the prætor Q. Pedius, and was slain under the walls of an obscure fort in the district of Thurii.

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### NOTES.

1.—1. *Vereor*, "I am apprehensive." This word means "to stand in awe," "to fear," with a feeling of respect or reverence. *Timere* means "to fear" apprehended danger or evil. Here the object of *vereor* is public opinion, *ne turpe sit*; the object of *timere* is the threatened violence of the Clodian party: — *judices*, "judges," the members of the commission appointed by Pompey to try Milo for the murder of Clodius. Of these, the quæstor or chief, appointed by the people, was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. — 2. *Hæc novi judicii nova forma*, "This unusual form of a new kind of trial." Milo was not tried in the ordinary courts of justice, nor according to the usual forms observed in them. A special commission was appointed for this purpose, and the procedure was restricted by special laws. To preserve the peace, the forum, by order of Pompey, was lined with armed men, and for the same purpose, guards were stationed at every avenue leading to it, and at all the temples adjoining it. — 3. *Requirunt*, "Miss," "look in vain for." — 4. *Non enim corona, &c.*, "For your bench (lit., your session) is not begirt with a circle of citizens (*corona*), as it used to be." — 5. *Nec illa præsidia . . . non afferunt, &c.*, "Nor do these guards . . . not produce, however, some effect on the orator." The nature of the effect is stated in the next clause. By omitting the double negative here we may render thus: "Moreover these guards, &c., although they have been placed to prevent violence, nevertheless bring something (of fear) to the orator." — 6. *Tamen ne non, &c.*, "Still we cannot indeed but fear, though without any just cause." — 7. *Quæ si opposita, &c.*, "If I thought these things opposed to Milo, I would give way to the



times," and not think of meeting the fury of excited party feelings by reasoning or argument. — 8. *Scd me recreat . . . Cn. Pompeii . . . consiliun,* &c. The confidence here expressed in the wisdom and justice of Pompey, is intended for effect, to impress the judges with this view of his character, though there was reason to believe his private feelings were opposed to Milo, and in favor of his competitors. See Introduction: — *qui profecto,* &c., "since he certainly could not think it consistent with his sense of justice, *dedere,* &c. B. § 141, Rule, iii.—A. & S. § 264. 8. By these complimentary expressions he wished also to conciliate the favor of Pompey to his cause. — 9. *Denuntiant*; here again is a zeugma, *denuntiant* being properly used with *periculum*, but not with *presidium*. With the first, of course, it is properly rendered "threaten;" but with the second, "promise." — *Ut simus animo neque solum quieto*, "to be of a mind (to have a mind) not only free from fear, but even filled with courage." B. § 145, Obs. 5, 3d.—A. & S. § 273. 2. — 10. *Que quidem est civium,* "Which indeed consists of citizens." The majority of the tribunes and the better class of citizens, in this contest, were in favor of Milo. It is here insinuated that the great body of the Clodians were not citizens; that they were slaves, or so degraded in character as not to deserve the name of citizens: — *tota nostra*, "wholly in our favor." — 11. *Neque eorum quisquam . . . non quum favet,* &c., "Not one of those . . . does not both favor, &c.:" — *tum putat*, "and think." Or, without the double negative, "every one of those, &c., not only favors, &c., but also thinks." Cicero is here careful to secure the favor of the people as well as of the judges, by stating that their interest, as well as that of their children and their country, is identified with a decision of this case in favor of Milo.

II.—1. *Rapinis*, "By plunder." The outrages of Clodius are frequently mentioned by Cicero. See Ch. 24, 27 and 28 of this oration: — *pavit*, "fed." This word is used in contempt, as if they were cattle or wild beasts. — 2. *Hesternam concionem*, "By yesterday's harangue." Munatius Plancus Bursa, one of the tribunes opposed to Milo, the day before urged the people to assemble in full force next day, and declare their sentiments in such a manner that Milo might not be suffered to escape. Cicero here reflects on this as an insult on the liberty of the bench: — *ut vobis voce precirent quid judicaretis*, "that they should dictate to you what sentence you should pass." — 3. *Si qui forte fuerit*, "If perchance there shall be any." — *retineatis*, scil., in the country by a sentence of acquittal;—a contrary sentence would be followed by his exile. — *neglexit*, "paid no attention to," "despised." — 4. *Adeste animis*, "Maintain your presence of mind," "act with spirit:" — *si denique un-*

*quam locus, &c.*, "if ever, in file, an opportunity has been given to men selected from the most illustrious orders." The judges in this trial were chosen from the senatorian and equestrian orders, and they were said to be men of great abilities, and unquestionable integrity: — *ut sua studia, arrange: ut re et sententiis declarent sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ sæpe significassent vultu et verbis: — re et sententiis*, "by their actions and votes," in antithesis with *vultu et verbis*. — 5. *Ut statuat*, "To determine." Same construction as *ut simus*, Ch. I. Note 9. — 6. *Quid enim nobis duobus, &c.*, "For what (condition) more harassed, what more vexatious, or more tried, can be mentioned or imagined than that of us two," lit., "than we two:" — *qui, &c.*: Cicero here identifies himself with Milo, his client; and by so doing brings him up to his own level. Notice the antithesis in this sentence. — 7. *Tempestates et procellas*, "Storms and tempests." The first is the more general term and means a storm on land or sea, *procella* is more specific, and denotes a more sudden and violent tempest of wind and rain, especially at sea; both are here figurative, and denote the violent out-bursts of human passions in highly excited political contests: — *in illis dantur fluctibus concionum*, "at least in those commotions of public assemblies:" — *Miloni esse subeundas*, "must be met (endured) by Milo." — 8. *In iudicio vero, et in eo consilio, in quo*, "But in a judicial investigation, and in such a court as that in which." *Is* before the relative, followed by the subjunctive, is equivalent to *talis*. B. § 141, Obs. 2, 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1: — *per tales viros*, "by means of such men," viz., as those composing this commission. — 9. *Quamquam in hac causa*. From this to the end of the chapter, Cicero states the course of argument he means to pursue, namely, waiving all other grounds of defence, to show that Clodius way-laid Milo, and was killed by him in self-defence. — 10. *Non abutemur*, "I will not abuse." The services of Annius in his tribuneship, and for the safety of the state, he represents were performed from patriotic motives; and to take advantage of them to shield him from a criminal charge would be to make a wrong use of them—"to abuse them." Still he frequently refers to these in the course of this oration, with a view to produce an impression in his favor. Milo was tribune, B. C. 56, four years before this. His principal merit during his tribuneship was the recall of Cicero from banishment, brought about chiefly by his efforts. — 11. *Insidias factas (esse)*, "That an ambush was laid:" — *merita*, see Ch. XXVIII: — *nec postulaturi (sumus)*, "nor will I demand:" — *ut . . . assignetis*, "that you ascribe." — 12. *Illius insidie*, "His (Clodius's) lying in wait."

III.—1. *Eam orationem* = *eam partem orationis*—*quæ propria est*, &c., “Which properly belongs to the inquiry before you,” scil., which waylaid the other? — *videantur ea*, “it seems that these.” See III. Or. in Cat. Ch. VIII. 2. — 2. *Negant*, &c. = *dicunt non*, “They (the adversaries of Milo) say, that a man ought not, &c.” Of this proposition Cicero affirms the reverse, and in support of his affirmation brings forward examples from Roman history. The first is that of M. Horatius. This well-known story is related by Livy, Lib. I. 26. — 3. *Aut negari solere*, &c., “That usually it is either denied that the act was done at all, or is maintained to have been done justly and lawfully.” It is the latter of these Cicero proposes to maintain in defence of Milo. — 4. *Nisi vero existimatis*. This refers to his position already stated, as if he said: This you must admit, “unless indeed you think, &c.?” — *seditione interrogarctur*, “it was asked in a factious manner.” With a view to excite the people to revenge the death of T. Gracchus, Carbo, in a public assembly of the people, put the question to Africanus, who had married Sempronia, the sister of Gracchus, what he thought of his death, expecting to receive a reply favorable to his wishes. Instead of this, however, he replied, *jure cæsum videri*. On hearing this, the people loudly expressed their displeasure. But he cried out, “cease your noise; dare you think to frighten me who am accustomed to hear unterrified the shouts of contending armies?” Respecting the death of Gracchus, see I. Or. in Cat. Ch. II. Note 17. Again you must admit this. — 5. *Neque enim posset*, &c., “For (if not) neither could either the distinguished Servilius Ahala, &c., be held not to be guilty.” For Ahala, see I. Or. in Cat. Ch. II. 19. Opimius slew C. Gracchus, still attempting to revive the Licinian law. To say nothing of the butcheries of Marius, even the senate itself must be held guilty, on the principle maintained by the opponents of Milo. He refers to the accomplices of Catiline who were put to death by the order of the senate. — 6. *Fictis fabulis*, “In fabulous story.” He refers to the Orestes of Euripides, and the Choëphori of Æschylus. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, to revenge his father’s death, slew his mother Clytemnestra, by whom his father had been murdered on his return from Troy. For this deed he was acquitted by the judges of the Areopagus under the direction of Minerva. — 7. *Variatis hominum sententiis*, “The opinions of men (i. e., the judges) being divided.” This being the case, it is said Minerva joined herself to those in favor of acquitting, making the number on each side equal. This amounted to an acquittal. — 8. *Duodecim tabule*, “The laws of the twelve tables.” These were the standard laws of the Romans, and they provided that, in certain circumstances, a man might slay another with impunity.

IV.—1. *Quæ sunt multa*, “And they are many:” — *defenditur*, “is warded off.” This is the strict meaning of the word. — 2. *Pudicitiam . . . militi*, “Attempted to violate the chastity of a soldier.” This tribune and relation of Marius, was C. Lusius, and the soldier’s name was Trebonius. — 3. *Facere periculose, quam perpeti turpiter*, “To incur danger, than to suffer dishonor.” Note the antithesis both in meaning, and manner of expression. — 4. *Inferri injusta*, “Be inflicted unjustly,” lit. “what unjust death, &c.” — 5. *Quid volunt?* “What mean?” The roads in Italy, and especially near Rome, were infested by robbers, so that for safety, persons travelling required a guard, and to be armed: — *non liceret*, “it would not be lawful.” — 6. *Est igitur hæc*. The elegant antithesis and force of expression in this whole sentence is worthy of attention: — *omnis honesta ratio esset*, &c., “any way of escaping from danger (lit., of procuring safety) would be honorable.” — 7. *Se exspectari*, “That they (the laws, i. e., the protection they afford) should be waited for:” — *quum ei, qui*, &c., “seeing that by him who should thus wait, an undeserved calamity might be suffered before a just punishment could be inflicted.” — 8. *Sed esse cum telo*, &c., “But to carry arms (lit., to be with a weapon) for the purpose of killing a man.” — 9. *Quum causa, non telum quæreretur*, “Since the motive, and not the fact of carrying a weapon would be inquired into:” — *ut* is connected with *judicaretur*. — 10. *Hoc maneat in causa*, “Let this be considered an established point in this cause:” — *quin probaturus sum*, “that I will prove:” — *quin*, “that not,” after a negative clause, commonly, as here, means, “that:” — *insidiatorem*, “that one who lies in wait for another.” Thus he establishes his point, that to kill a man in self-defence is lawful, and so refutes the first position of Milo’s enemies, “that a man who confesses he has killed another should not be suffered to live.”

V.—1. *Sequitur illud*, “There follows that,” i. e., “the next thing:” *illud* refers to the following clause, *cædem—factam esse*, “that the senate decided that the slaughter, &c., was an offence against the state.” Cicero replies, in substance, that the judgment of the senate spoken of referred to the *act*, but did not decide where the *guilt* lay, whether with Clodius or with Milo—and that in all the discussions relating to this subject, for the last hundred days, so far was the senate from condemning Milo, that a very few only considered him guilty. In this way does he set aside the second postulate of the enemies of Milo. — 2. *Non sententiis solum sed etiam studiis*, “Not by their votes only, but by their attachment” (to Milo). — 3. *Acta*, “pleaded:” — *quibus assensionibus*, “with what expressions of approbation:” — *quam nec tacitis*, &c., “how loud and

open." — 4. *Declarant hujus ambusti*, &c., "Those lifeless railings of that scorched tribune of the people show (this)." The tribune referred to was T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who, endeavoring to excite the people against Milo, tore up the benches and furniture in the senate house, with which he made a funeral pile for the body of Clodius, and near which, while it was burning, he continued to harangue the people, till he was forced by the heat to retire; hence the epithet *ambusti*. This is the language of keen sarcasm: — *intermortua*, properly, "between life and death," "dead and alive by turns." — 5. *Quæ quidem si*, &c., "If this indeed is to be called power:" — *potentia* means ability to do, *potestas* authority to do; the former expresses what we *can* do, the latter what we *may* do. — 6. *Hanc vero quæstionem*, "That this trial" (viz., of Milo). The argument is, that as this trial of Milo (however just) was not by the appointment of the senate (but by a special commission of Pompey), the death of Clodius was an event at which they were not much grieved, and the conduct of Milo was not much blamed: — *nova quæstio*, "an extraordinary inquisition." — 7. *Cujus enim*, &c., "For (seeing that) the power of appointing a judicial investigation concerning that profane debauch of his was wrested from the senate, who can believe, &c." In order to carry on an intrigue with Sempronia, the wife of Julius Cæsar, Clodius, under the disguise of a female, gained admittance to Cæsar's house, while the mysteries of the *Bona dea* were celebrating, at which it was profanation for a male to be present. By the pontifex, this was declared sacrilege; but, through the efforts of the Clodian faction, all efforts to bring it to trial proved unavailing. — 8. *Cur igitur*, &c. By this question, Cicero adroitly shows, that this decree of the senate condemned, as an offence against the state, the several acts of violence committed by the Clodian party, as much as it did the death of Clodius. He specifies as examples—*incendium curiæ*. See Note 4: — *oppugnationem ædium M. Lepidi*, "the attack on the house of M. Lepidus." On the death of Clodius, Lepidus was declared inter-rex. The factions of Scipio and Hypsæus, in order to force an immediate election, which Lepidus was unwilling to hold, while the resentment of the populace was fresh against Milo, attacked his house, insulted his wife, and committed other acts of violence, till they were driven off by the partisans of Milo. — 9. *Quia nulla vis*, &c. In this answer to his own question, Cicero shows that, as every violent act is against the state, the decree of the senate was general, and had no more reference to the acts of Milo than to the acts of others referred to. — 10. *Nisi vero*, "Unless indeed" (which, however, cannot be supposed): — *non tamen rem publicam vulnerarunt* (scil., the acts here referred to), "did not, however, injure the re-

public:" — *dies*, by meton., for the transactions of the day—so also *arma*, for the violent deeds done by them: — *Saturninus*, a tribune of the people and violent partizan of Marius, hired assassins to take the life of C. Memmius, when he was suing for the consulship, B. C. 100.

VI.—1. *Ego ipse decrevi*, "I myself voted," "was of opinion:" — *crimen iudicio*, &c., "the guilt I reserved for judicial investigation, the thing I admitted." — 2. *Furiosum illum tribunum*, scil., Munatius Plancus, Ch. V., 4. — 3. *Decernebat enim*, &c., "For the senate was proceeding to decree," "to a decision." B. § 44, ii. 2.—A. & S. § 145, ii. 4: — *tantummodo extra ordinem*, "only not in the usual way." — 4. *Divisa sententia est*, "The vote was divided." When a question contained more things than one, any one might call for a division, i. e., to vote on each part separately. This question consisted of two parts, 1st. Whether the matter should be investigated, according to the existing laws. 2d. Whether it should be *extra ordinem*: — *nescio quo*, "some one." *Nescio quis* has come by use to be regarded as one word = *aliquis*, but usually implying an expression of want of respect, or of contempt. — 5. *Reliqua auctoritas senatus*, "The remaining authority of the senate (i. e., its power to act on the second part of the proposition) was taken away:" — *empta intercessione*, "by a purchased veto." The tribunes of the people had the extraordinary power of arresting the proceedings of the senate at any step by the word *veto*, "I forbid." This was called *intercessio*, and was often greatly and corruptly abused. The *veto*, in the present case, was interposed by Munatius Plancus and Sallust. Here ends the refutation of the second position taken by the enemies of Milo, Ch. V., 1. — 6. *At enim*. The force of these particles here may be given thus: "But," these men take up still another position; "for," they say: — *Cn. Pompeius*, &c., "Cn. Pompey by his bill (for an extraordinary commission) has judged (Milo guilty) both concerning the act and the motive." To this Cicero replies, to the end of Ch. VIII., in substance, that he had decided only for an *investigation*; for, where the fact is admitted, the very idea of a trial implies that the question of guilt is yet open and undecided. — 7. *Tulit*, scil., *rogationem*, "He brought forward a law." *Ferre rogationem* = *rogare*, means to bring before the people the question whether it is their pleasure, that such a law shall pass. The formula of rogation was usually thus: *Velitis jubeatis uti*, &c.; and then, having read the law, to add *Hec ita uti dixi, ita vos Quirites rogo*. — 8. *Ut querretur*, "That investigation should be made." — 9. *At constat*. *At* is often used, as here, to introduce an objection retained in the mind, though the ground of it is expressed; thus, "But (that

was not necessary, for) it is evident." — 10. *Nos fateri*, "That we (identifying himself with his client) acknowledge (the fact)." — 11. *Tam hanc salutarem*, &c., "As well this acquitting, as that condemning letter." When judges were to vote on a criminal trial, the letters A and C were put into their hands, by depositing one or other of which in the urn, their sentence was given: A for *Absolvo*, "I acquit," hence called *litera salutaris*, and C for *Condemno*, "I condemn," hence called *litera tristis*. Another ballot inscribed *N. L., non liquet*, "It is not clear," was sometimes given, and when these were in the majority, it left the case undecided. — 12. *Quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret*, "What you ought to keep in view in making up your verdict." Thus does he show, in opposition to the assumption of those opposed to Milo, that Pompey had not decided against Milo, but had left the question for the judges now to decide. Finally, he makes the appeal on this point to Pompey himself. — 13. *Quod sua sponte fecit*, &c., "Whether what he did of his own accord, he thought should be attributed to his regard for P. Clodius, or to the times," i. e., to the excited state of the people at that time.

VII.—1. *Tribunus plebis M. Drusus*. To show that this measure was now resorted to only on account of the peculiar state of the times, and not from any favor for Clodius, he goes on to mention a number of cases of violence, respecting which no investigation had been instituted: these, too, are of such a character as to bring odium on Clodius and his party, and to excite the indignation of Pompey and those who sought his favor. This is done with great tact to operate silently in favor of Milo.—M. Livius Drusus, a man distinguished for his wealth, talents, and weight of character, was assassinated at his own house, when he was attempting to get a law passed to confer the freedom of the city on some of the principal towns of Italy: — *avunculus hujus judicis*, "the uncle of this our judge." M. Cato was one of the judges on this trial of Milo. — 2. *Nihil populus consultus (est)*, "The people were never consulted." *Nihil* is a stronger negative than *non*. See I. Or. in Cat. I., 5. — 3. *Quantum luctum*, &c., "How great mourning have we heard," &c. *Inctus* means "grief," expressed by loud lamentations; *mæror*, "grief," expressed by sadness of countenance; *dolor*, "grief" in the heart, without regard to its expression.—P. Africanus was found dead in his bed, and by many, and especially by Cicero, was supposed to have been strangled. C. Papirius Carbo was suspected, but there was no investigation. — 4. *Quia non alio facinore*, &c., "Because the crime is the same whether the persons slain are illustrious or obscure:"—Render this sentence

literally. — 5. *Intersit*, i. e., *Fac intersit*, “Grant that there is a difference:” — *inter vitæ dignitatem*, lit., “between the value of the life of the highest:” — *atque (vitæ dignitatem) infimorum*, “and the value, &c.” More briefly, “in the value of the life of the highest and of the lowest.” — 6. *Nisi forte magis erit parricida*, “Unless perhaps he will be more a parricide,” i. e., more guilty. — 7. *In monumentis majorum suorum*, “Among the monuments of his ancestors,” meaning on the Appian way. This famous road was built (*munivit*) by Appius Cæcus, the Censor, one of the ancestors of Clodius, B. C. 311. Many parts of this road are now in good preservation after 2,000 years. It was certainly a noble monument to his name: — *ab istis*, namely, the partisans of Clodius. This word is used to express contempt: — *non qua populus uteretur*, “not that the people might use it,” i. e., “not for the use of the people.” — 8. *M. Papirium occidisset*, “Had slain M. Papirius.” Clodius having by stratagem got into his hands the son of Tigranes whom Pompey had brought to Rome, and refusing to give him up, Flavius the prætor, to whose custody he had been committed, went out with an armed force to recover him. But Clodius proved too powerful for him, and in the conflict, killed M. Papirius, Pompey’s intimate friend. This was the first cause of the difficulty between Pompey and Clodius: — *non fuit illud facinus puniendum*. This and the following clauses are spoken with a sort of sarcastic irony. — 9. *Quæ cruentata antea, &c.*, “(That) which (scil., the Appian way) when drenched formerly, &c., was never mentioned:” — *eadem nunc crebro usurpatur*, “the same is now constantly talked of”—“taken up in conversation.” Compare, *Or. pro Marcello*, Ch. II., Note 3: — *innocentis viri*, scil., Papirius: — *latronis*, scil., Clodius. — 10. *In templo Castoris*. This temple was contiguous to the forum, and in it the senate met on this occasion. — 11. *Extorta est (ei) confitenti*, lit., “Was wrested from him confessing.” The dative is governed by *extorta est*. B. § 126, R. iii: *de manibus* is added in explanation. See Greek Gr. § 148, Obs. 2, throughout. This is probably better than the common construction, according to which the dative is governed by *manibus*. B. § 110, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 5, ad fin. — 12. *Caruit foro*, “Absented himself from the forum.” — 13. *Cujus in vita nitēbatur*, “On whose life depended:” — *occidisset*, “had fallen.” — 14. *Legibus vindicentur*, “Are taken cognizance of by the laws.”—This is according to the maxim early acted upon. *In maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus*. — 15. *Questionem tulisset = rogationem tulisset ut quæreretur*. See above VI., Notes 7, 8.

VIII.—1. *Sed stulti sumus, qui . . . . . conferre audeamus*, “But we



are foolish to venture to compare," or, "in venturing." B. § 141, Rule iii. — A. & S. § 264. 8. This whole passage is a piece of elegant irony. — 2. *Illa*, "Those things," namely, the outrages on the persons just mentioned. — 3. *Desiderant*, "Miss," "feel the want of." — 4. *Sibi . . . . . questionem ferendam*. That a law for a special trial must be brought forward by him. See Ch. VII., Note 15, with reference: — *homo sapiens*, scil., Pompey: — *fuisse illum sibi inimicum*, "that the former (Clodius) had been his personal enemy." Distinguish *inimicus* and *hostis*. — 5. *Timuit, ne videretur*, &c. "He feared that confidence in his reconciliation to Clodius might seem to be shaken," lit., "too weak." — 6. *Atrociter ipse tulisset*, scil., *questionem*, "He himself had obtained a law of a stern character." — 7. *Ipsa lumina*. See above Ch. II., Note 4: — *secrevit*, "set aside," "did not choose." — 8. *Non enim mea gratia*, &c., "For my influence is not limited to my intimate friends:" — *consuetudines victus*, "the intimacies of social life." — 9. *Si quid possumus*, "If I have any influence," lit., "If I have influence as to (or, in) any thing." B. § 128, Obs. 1: — *studiosos mei*, "attached to me." — 10. *Quod vero*, "But as to this," namely, *voluit te*, &c. In this way *quod* is used to introduce a sentence. See Idioms 28. B. § 99, Obs. 8, Note. — 11. *Tulit ut*. Arrange and supply thus: *Tulit ut necesse esset, consularem (præesse huic questioni)*, "He enacted," &c.: — *Principum munus esse*, "that it was the work (the part) of men of rank."

With this ends his reply to the third position assumed by the enemies of Milo, namely—that Pompey, by getting this law for a trial by a special commission, had decided concerning both the *act* and the *intention* of Milo

IX.—1. *Ut aliquando ad causam crimenque veniamus*, "To come at length to the cause itself, and the accusation." Having disposed of the three assumptions of Milo's enemies, he now proceeds to vindicate him from the charge itself. In doing so, the chief point on which he relies, as stated below, is to make it appear that Clodius lay in wait for Milo, and was killed by the servants of Milo in defending their master. In this chapter, he prepares the way for this, by showing the hatred of Clodius against Milo, and that he had actually threatened his life. — 2. *Juris disceptationem*, "A discussion of its lawfulness:" — *disceptet*, "should determine:" — *uter utri insidias fecerit*, "which of the two laid an ambush for the other." — 3. *Rem gestam*, "The whole affair in order," "the transaction as it took place."—Here commences THE NARRATION. — 4. *Ita tracta esse comitia*, "That the comitia (i. e., the election) had been so long delayed." By the contentions of the tribunes and other causes

the election had been delayed full six months. — 5. *L. Paullum collegam effugere*, "To avoid (having) L. Paullus as his colleague." L. Æmilius Paullus was prætor, B. C. 52. Clodius knew that a man of such character and energy would be an insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs. — 6. *Reliquit*, &c., "He abandoned," "he threw up his own year." It was considered an honor for a person to be elected to a high office in his own year, i. e., as soon as he attained the legal age. That age for the prætorship was 40. Clodius at first proposed himself as a candidate for this office *suo anno*. But seeing that owing to the lateness of the elections, he could hold it only for a few months, and that he would be so cramped and fettered by his colleague, he withdrew his name, and reserved himself for the next year. — 7. *Summo consensu*, "With the greatest unanimity." — 8. *Contulit se ad ejus competitors*, "He betook himself to (i. e., he joined) his (namely, Milo's) competitors," if possible to defeat him: — *ita*, "in such a way," "with so much ardor:" — *totam ut petitionem . . . . gubernaret*, "that he alone managed the whole canvass." — 9. *Collinam novam (tribum)*, &c., "He formed a new Colline tribe, by a selection, &c." The Collina was one of the four city tribes. But though the largest, from having the *libertini* united with it, it embraced the very lowest of the populace, and was of course the least respectable. — 10. *Ille*, Clodius: — *hic*, Milo. — 11. *Homo*, "The man," meaning Clodius, using the word *homo* as a term of reproach, and in contrast with *virum*, applied to Milo: — *occidendum Milonem*, "that Milo must be killed." Cicero gives prominence to this threatening, and repeats it several times. It appears also that Milo threatened the death of Clodius, but it did not suit the purpose of Cicero to mention this here. — 12. *Servos agrestes et barbaros*, "His rude and barbarous slaves." Clodius had possessions in Etruria near the Apennines, where he maintained hordes of slaves, whom he employed in carrying on his violent schemes. — 13. *Significavit*, "He hinted (privately to his friends):" — *dixit*, "He openly said it:" — *aut summum*, "or at the most." As evidence of this, Cicero mentions that Favonius immediately reported this statement to M. Cato, one of the judges, and, by thus referring to his knowledge of the fact, adroitly makes Cato a witness in the case, to a material point, as well as a judge.

X.—1. *Iter sollemne, legitimum*, "A yearly journey, required by law:" — *ante diem XIII. (decimum tertium) Kalendas Feb. = die XIII. ante Kalendas*, &c., i. e., 18th January. For the different methods of expressing and reducing dates, see B. p. 305. This form is the 4th. A. & S. § 326: — *Lanuvium*, the accusative denoting the place to which.—

This was a free town (*municipium*) of Latium, near the Appian way, about 16 miles from Rome. It was the birth-place of Milo, of which he was now Dictator or Chief magistrate, and as such it was his duty, yearly, on the day here mentioned, to nominate a priest to minister in the temple of Juno Sospita built there: — *ipse*, “he” (Clodius): — *ante suam fundum*, “in front of his farm.” — 2. *Ita—ut—relinqueret*, “In such a way that he left.” — 3. *Calceos et vestimenta mutavit*, “changed his shoes and his clothes,” i. e., the dress worn in the senate, for a travelling dress: — *id temporis*, B. § 131, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 253, Rem. 3: — *redire potuisset*, “could have returned,” lit., “had been able to return.” — 4. *Rheda*, “Carriage.” The Rheda was a four-wheeled carriage drawn by mules: — *Græcis comitibus*, “Grecian attendants.” Learned men from Greece were sometimes maintained in various capacities by wealthy Romans in their families; they also sometimes attended them in their journeys, for their entertainment. — 5. *Quum hic insidiator*, applied to Milo, ironically: — *pænulatus*, “wrapped up in his pænula.” This was a woollen cloak or covering worn by persons when exposed in cold or stormy weather.—Observe here the contrast in every particular between the equipments of Clodius and of Milo; how thoroughly prepared the one was for an encounter, how utterly unprepared the other, showing that he neither intended nor expected any thing of the kind. — 6. *Hora fere undecima*, “Not far from the eleventh hour,” i. e., between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon. — 7. *De loco superiore*, “From higher ground,”—which gave the assailant great advantage: — *adversi*, “those in front.” — 8. *Partim—partim*, “some of them—others.” Though an adverb, this word is often used in distributive sentences as a noun. Here it is distributive of *illi*, the followers of Clodius; and below, of *ii* understood, as the antecedent of *qui* and subject of *occisi sunt*, and *fecerunt*: — *ejus servos, qui*, “his (Milo’s) servants, who:” — *prasenti*, “resolute.” — 9. *Et re vera putarent*, “And doubtless thought so:” — *fecerunt id—quod*, “did that which,”—“acted as:” — *non derivandi criminis causa*, “not for the sake of shifting the blame,” scil., from Milo to his servants.—This whole narration is managed with consummate skill, to show the guilt of Clodius, and the innocence of Milo in this encounter.

XI.—1. *Nihil dico, quid res publica consecuta sit*, “I say nothing as to what the state has gained.” In this sentence *nihil* is governed by *dico* as a noun; and the clause *quid res publica, &c.*, is to be regarded as a substantive phrase, in the accusative, depending on *quod ad*; or in the ablative, depending on *de* understood, and rendered “as to,” “concern-

ing." — 2. *Nihil sane id prosit Miloni*, "But let not that by any means profit Milo." *Nihil* is here used adverbially as a strong negative, rendered stronger still by *sane*. B. § 124, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 231, Rem. 5: — *hoc fato*, "with such a fate," see I. Or. in Cat. I. Note 20: — *quin una—servaret*, "without at the same time preserving;" so below, *quin simul judicetis*. — 3. *Ratio*, "Reason:" — *omnibus—esse pcreundum*, "that all must perish." — 4. *Optabilius fuit*, "It would have been more desirable." The indicative is here used in the sense of the subjunctive. B. § 44, III. 4.—A. & S. § 259, Rem. 3. — 5. *Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit*, "But if in this matter no one of you thinks so." — 6. *De hoc igitur*, "Concerning this, therefore;" namely, *ab utro factæ sint*: — *latum est ut quæreretur*, "it has been enacted, that investigation be made" = *lata est questio*. The proper subject of *latum est* is *ut quæreretur*. See above Ch. VII., Note 15, as also for *questionem tulit*. — 7. *Notavit*, "Censured," "found fault with," "condemned:" — *de jure, scil., facti*, "concerning the lawfulness of the act."

XII.—1. *Si hic illi, i. e.*, "If Milo laid an ambuscade for Clodius:" — *ut ne sit impune, i. e., rogo ut, &c.*, "then let it not be with impunity:" — *scelere solvamur*, "let us be acquitted of the crime." — 2. *Quonam igitur pacto, &c.?* "In what way then can it be proved, &c.?" As the first step in the proof, Cicero in this and the next chap. shows that Clodius would have gained much by the death of Milo; whereas, on the contrary, Milo gained nothing, but lost much, by the death of Clodius. — 3. *Illud Cassianum, &c.*, "That question of Cassius, *Whose interest was it?* is important in the case of these persons." L. Cassius is said to have been remarkable for his strictness as a judge, and to have laid great stress on the principle implied in this question. *Cui* and *bono* are both in the dative. B. § 114, R. xix.—A. & S. § 227. — 4. *Atqui* is here used to connect the following particular case with the preceding general proposition—the minor with the major, and may be rendered, "But," "now:" — *hoc*, "this," namely, as follows, *non modo ut, &c.* — 5. *Non eo consule quo*, "Not with such a consul that:" — *iis consulis quibus*, "with such consuls as." For these modes of rendering a relative with a demonstrative antecedent, see B. § 141, Obs. 2, 2d.—A. & S. § 264. 1: — *at conniventibus certe*, "yet conniving at least:" — *cogitatis furoribus*, "intended schemes of madness." — 6. *Cujus illi conatus*, "Whose (Clodius's) attempts they," namely, the consuls referred to: — *tantum beneficium ei se debere*, "that they were indebted to him for so great a kindness," meaning, that they owed their election to the consulship to his exertions in their favor. — 7. *Hospites*, "Strangers:"

— *vestræ aures*, &c., “are your ears not at home, nor familiar with the common report of the city?” namely: — *quas leges*, “what laws?” — *fuerit impositurus*, &c., “he was about to impose, and fix indelibly (lit., brand) upon every one of us.” The scheme here referred to, was to get a law passed by which freedmen (*libertini*), who had now the right of voting only in the city tribes, might have it also in the rustic tribes. The whole Roman territory was then divided into 35 tribes, of which 4 were in the city, and 31 without the city. It is easy to see that such a law would have added much to the number of voters, and secured for a time immense power to the framers of such a law. This was of course a favorite measure with party leaders in the minority, by which they hoped to raise themselves into power. The election by tribes (*comitia tributa*) was in fact the only election by the people; for in this, all votes were equal, whereas, in the *comitia centuriata*, or election by centuries, while the people were not excluded, the scheme was such as to render their vote nearly worthless. By the latter mode, consuls and prætors were chosen; by the former, the inferior magistrates. See Adam’s Roman Antiquities. — 8. *Tamquam Palladium*, “As if a Palladium”—a wooden image of Pallas, (or Minerva,) brought from Troy to Rome and laid up in the temple of Vesta. When this temple was burned, the Palladium was rescued by the high-priest Metellus, and was regarded as the symbol of safety to the empire. — 9. *Ut præclarum*, &c., arrange: *ut posses deferre præclarum munus videlicet, et instrumentum tribunatus ad aliquem*, &c.: — *instrumentum*, “an instrument,” or “code of instructions.” Of the sentence following this, in Orelli’s text, all but two words (*atque per*) is lost; and as these words by themselves give no meaning they are here omitted. The three following sentences also are wanting in the common editions. — 10. *De nostrum omnium*. Here we have an example of the figure *aposioposis*, or intentional breaking off, without finishing, a sentence begun, which is sometimes used with great effect. Having begun the sentence, the orator here stops as if afraid to go on, being terrified by the threatening looks of S. Clodius, and adds *non audeo totum dicere*. — 11. *Et adspexit me*, &c., “And he looked at me with such looks as he was accustomed to assume, when he threatened universal destruction to every one.” — 12. *Lumen curiæ*. This is a sort of ambiguous jest, to call S. Clodius, “the light of the senate,” as if he meant to compliment him as a great man, while in fact he sarcastically refers to his burning the senate-house, when he erected in it a funeral pile for the body of Clodius.

XIII.—1. *Quid?* “What”—a common exclamation=*quid censes?*

*quid ais? quid dicam?* &c., as the sense may require: — *punitus es*, a deponent form = *punivisti*. — **2.** *Domo*, “Out of his house,” &c. All this refers to the method adopted by the kinsman of Clodius, to excite the indignation of the people against Milo by exposing in public his bloody corpse. See Introduction: — *spoliatum imaginibus*, “deprived of its images.” Persons of distinction among the Romans had their halls adorned with wax images of their ancestors, which at funerals were carried in procession before the corpse: — *exsequiis*, “funeral obsequies.” This term is general, and includes the following *pompa, laudatione*, &c.: — *infelicissimis lignis*, see above Ch. V., Note 4: — *laudare non possum*, i. e., *quanquam laudare*, &c. — **3.** [*Demonstravi*, &c.] Here there is a defect in the text. The supplement in italics is proposed by Beier, to intimate a transition to another view of the subject. He had argued above that the death of Milo must have been considered by Clodius as important to the success of his plans: he now proceeds to show that the death of Clodius was injurious to the interests of Milo. — **4.** *Non dicam admitteret*, “I will not say should commit (this deed) but should wish (to do so).” — **5.** *Obstabat*, &c.; this sentence contains the supposed reply of a Clodian to the two preceding questions. “Clodius stood in Milo’s way in his hope of the consulship.” What follows is a refutation of this allegation. — **6.** *At eo repugnante fiebat*, “On the contrary, Milo was a gainer by the opposition of Clodius,” lit., “he (Clodius) opposing, Milo was succeeding:” — *suffragatore*, “supporter,” i. e., one who aids another by his vote, or in getting votes. — **7.** *Valebat apud vos*, “Availed (had influence) with you,” viz., to support Milo for consul: — *solutam*, “unrestrained,” i. e., without check or restraint. — **8.** *Usitatis jam rebus*, &c., “Milo has to strive by the usual means to support his dignity,” i. e., his worth, his claims to office. — **9.** *Frangendis furoribus Clodianis*, “By breaking down (thwarting) the mad schemes of Clodius.” — **10.** *Tentari ceptus est*, “Has begun to be in danger.” *Capi* has a deponent form in the perfect tense, commonly used by Cicero, instead of the active before an infinitive passive. — **11.** *At valuit odium*, “But (you will say) hatred prevailed.” *At* here introduces an objection to the preceding reasoning. Admit, says the objector, it was for Milo’s interest that Clodius should live, yet such was his hatred of Clodius, and so strong his passions, that he lost sight of his interest, and killed his adversary. The reply which follows, denies that, in the circumstances, Milo could have any greater hatred of Clodius than all good men had, and whatever is in this argument, its weight is on the other side: — *si hæc*, “if these things,” scil., hatred, anger, enmity. — **12.** *Quid enim*, i. e., *Propter quid* = *cur*, “For why.” — **13.** *Ille*,

*erat, ut odisset, &c.*, "There was (reason) why he (Clodius) should hate (Milo,) first of all as the protector of my safety, &c.," i. e., "because he was the protector, &c." It was mainly through the efforts of Milo that Cicero was recalled from exile. Three reasons are here assigned for the hatred of Clodius against Milo—his efforts in behalf of Cicero, his successful opposition to the outrages of Clodius, and his being his accuser.

— 14. *Reus enim Milonis, &c.*, "For he lay under Milo's accusation as long as he lived," lit., "he was Milo's accused." The accusation was lodged against him under the Plotian law against violence, but the matter was never brought to trial. — 15. *Quantum odium illius (creditus) fuisse?* "How great was his resentment" (think you)? viz., against Milo: — *quam justum*, "with how much reason?"

XIV.—1. *Reliquum est*, "It remains." Having discussed the question 'whose interest it was' (*qui bono*), Ch. XII., Note 2, and the argument from personal hatred in the close of the preceding chapter, he now goes on to argue from their respective dispositions and general course of conduct, that, on the question, 'which of the two lay in wait for the other?' the probability is strongly in favor of Milo and against Clodius: — *ut illum natura ipsius, &c.*, "that the nature of the man himself and his habit of life may defend the one (Clodius) and convict the other (Milo)." This sentence and the next are ironical. — 2. *Urbe cessi*, "I departed from the city," viz., into exile: — *non servos, &c.?* "and not his slaves, &c.?" dependent on *timui*, interrogatively. When Cicero was placed in the position of a criminal by a law of Clodius, for bringing to deserved punishment the accomplices of Catiline, as was customary, he put on mourning, and went about the streets to move the compassion of the people; but he was met every where, and insulted by the slaves of Clodius. This induced him to go into voluntary exile, without waiting for a trial. The senators, to testify their regard for him, put on mourning (*mærentibus vobis*). — 3. *Restituendi mei*, "Of recalling me," seil., from exile: — *ejiciendi*, "of thrusting me out," viz., by lawless violence. — 4. *Diem mihi credo, dixerat*, "He had, I suppose, appointed a day for me" (for trial before the people): — *multam irrogarat, &c.*, "he had proposed a fine, he had threatened an action of treason:" — *videlicet*, "forsooth." All this is spoken ironically, to express his contempt for the proceedings of Clodius against him. — 5. *Quum mihi adesset*, "When he took part with me." Q. Hortensius was a celebrated orator, and though for a time the rival of Cicero, this never interfered with their friendship. When he and C. Curio were sent to the consul Gabinius to get him to interpose his authority in favor of Cicero, they were rudely repulsed by him,

and assailed by the partisans of Clodius. — 6. *Hec insidiata est Pompeio*, "This lay in wait," i. e., "with this Clodius lay in wait for Pompey." See above Ch. VII. : — *nece Papirii*, see Ch. VII. Note 8 : — *longo intervallo*, viz., from B. c. 58 to B. c. 52, about six years, when Cicero supported Milo for the consulship : — *ad regiam sc. domum*, "at the palace," viz., of Numa, near the forum. — 7. *Quid simile Milonis*, "Can any thing resembling this be laid to the charge of Milo," lit. "What like this belongs to Milo." — 8. *Vi oppressam civitatem teneret* = *vi opprimeret civitatem et teneret*. B. § 146, Obs. 6. — 9. *Quem*, "Him," sc. Clodius : — *illo oppugnante*, "when he (Clodius) was assaulting it." With *potuit*, in each of these clauses, supply *illum interficere*. — 10. *Agnovisset*, "Would have approved:" — *pro sua vindicaret*, "would have claimed as its own." B. § 45, ii. 2.—A. & S. § 260, ii., Rem. 2.

XV.—1. *At quod erat tempus!* "But what a time was that!" i. e., how favorable for Milo, if he had been so disposed, to put Clodius to death, not with safety only, but with credit to himself. The argument is: If Milo did not manifest any desire to put Clodius to death when he had so good an opportunity, it could not be supposed he would do so, when it would be accompanied with danger. In the next sentence, supply *eo tempore erat* : — *vestræ voluntatis*, "of your wish," viz., for my return from exile. — 2. *Cn. Pompeius auctor et dux*, &c., "Cn. Pompey, who proposed and took a leading part in my return." Pompey was anxious to recall Cicero from exile to aid in resisting the power and insolence of Clodius, which had become intolerable. — 3. *Quum decretum de me Capuæ fecit*. For the indicative after *quum*, see B. § 140, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 263. 5. Pompey was one of the Decemviri appointed for the government of Capua, now a colony of Roman citizens; and in this capacity he passed the decree here mentioned : — *desiderio mei*, "from their affection for me:" — *quem qui tum interemisset*, "if any one had killed him then." — 4. *Privato Milone*, &c., "While Milo was a private person, and accused before the people." A person could not be accused at Rome while in office. In order to trial therefore, a magistrate must resign, and become *privatus*. Clodius accused Milo before the people for keeping a band of gladiators, in revenge for a similar accusation made by Milo against Clodius. On this trial, Milo was defended by Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero. — 5. *Jam irretitam teneret* = *irretiret et teneret*, see preceding Ch., Note 8. — 6. *Fugiens—abdidisset*, "Had fled and hid himself." B. § 146, Obs. 9. — 7. *Magnum Miloni fuit*, "It would have been a great thing for Milo." An adjective in the predicate, referring to an infinitive mood, or clause of a sentence, is put in the neuter gender. B. § 98,



Obs. 6.- A. & S. § 205, Rem. 7, (2). The indicative *fuit* shows the opportunity actually occurred, though it was not improved. This is rendered in English as if it were the subjunctive. Supply *fuit* in the same sense with *gloria*. — 8. *In campo*, "In the Campus Martius," a plain on the banks of the Tiber where public assemblies of the people were held for elections, &c.: — *in septa irrupisset*, "had forced his way into the enclosure." The *septa* was an enclosure like a sheepfold, hence called *ovile*, into which the people in their centuries in succession went to give their votes. The access to it was by a narrow passage or bridge to prevent confusion. Into this Clodius violently forced his way to prevent the elections from being completed. — 9. *Vota faceretis*, "Prayed," "offered prayers with vows to the gods." B. § 102, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 209, Rem. 12, (7): — *ut Miloni*, &c. Arrange: *ut liberet Miloni uti sua virtute*, "that it might please Milo to use his bravery," viz., in slaying Clodius.

XVI.—1. *Quem igitur*, &c. Arrange and supply: (*Num*) *igitur voluit (occidere) cum querela aliquorum, hunc, quem noluit (occidere) cum gratia omnium?* So in the next clause. The obvious answer to these interrogatories is, 'It is impossible.' — 2. *Præsertim quum*, &c. In what follows, he amplifies the *alieno tempore* in the preceding clause, showing that if Milo manifested no disposition to slay Clodius, when the time was favorable for doing so, it could not be supposed for a moment he could entertain such a design, when the time was particularly unfavorable. How it was so, he goes on to show: — *amplissimi honoris contentio*, &c., "the contest for the highest honor," viz., the consulship for which Milo was then a candidate. The following picture of the anxiety and uneasiness of those who are candidates for office in times of excitement, and in a closely contested election, is highly graphic, and was often realized, especially at Rome, where the people, always capricious, were influenced more by favor than by regard to principle, and where of course not only was every art resorted to in order to win their favor, but the greatest care was necessary to avoid any thing which might possibly incur their displeasure. — 3. *Sed etiam in recte factis fastidiunt*, "But are often disgusted even with his good deeds." — 4. *Diem campi*, "The day of the election," lit., "of the Campus Martius:" — *præ se ferens*, "openly showing," scil., by his acts: — *confitens*, "acknowledging," scil., in words: — *scelus et facinus*. These words of similar meaning are put together, to express the daring wickedness of the act referred to. *Scelus* alone means a wicked action; *facinus*, a bold or daring action. Observe the antithesis between these words, and *illa augusta auspicia centuriarum*,

lit., "those august auspices of the *centurie*." The holding of the *comitia centuriata* was preceded by the religious ceremony of taking the auspices to ascertain whether the gods approved. If the auspices were favorable, the election proceeded; if not, it was postponed; and hence the Campus Martius was for the time considered as consecrated ground. To come to such a place with an open declaration of such guilt, Cicero intimates, is a wickedness so gross and heaven-daring as not to be thought of in Milo, who had a reverence for the gods. — 5. *Quam hæc non credibile in hoc!* "How incredible is this in this man!" (Milo): — *quam non dubitandum idem in Clodio*, "how clearly not to be doubted is the same thing in Clodius;" — *qui putaret*, "since he thought." — 6. *Quid? quod caput est audaciæ, &c.*, "What will you say as to that which is the great source of audacity," namely, the hope of impunity. By showing there could be no such hope to Milo, but that there was to Clodius, seeing he had in former instances contrived to escape merited punishment, and delighted only in what was contrary to all laws, divine or human, he frames another, which is the fourth argument in favor of Milo and against Clodius on the main question, "which lay in wait for the other?" — 7. *Sed quid ego argumentor?* "But why do I produce arguments." They were unnecessary; and he goes on to state, and appeals to some of the judges by name for their knowledge of the fact, that Clodius said, that on the third day Milo would perish, which answered precisely to the time the rencounter took place, showing that Clodius intended to carry his threat into effect, and waylaid Milo for this purpose. This may be called the *fifth* argument.

XVII.—1. *Quemadmodum igitur, &c.*, "How then could he certainly know the day?" He had said, as just mentioned, 'the third day.' How could he fix on this time? In answer to this question, Cicero goes on to show, that, while Clodius could not but know that Milo had to be on his way to Lanuvium that day, Milo could not know that Clodius would be out of the city, especially as a seditious meeting was to be held where his presence was so necessary, and there was no known reason for his leaving it. The bearing of this fact on the question, *uter utri insidias fecit?* is obvious. — 2. *Dixi equidem modo, viz., Ch. X* which see. — 3. *Itaque antevertit*, "Therefore, he took the start of him," "placed himself before him." — 4. *Nisi ad cogitatum facinus approperearet*, "Unless he was hastening to effect his intended villainy." — 5. *Ergo illi*, "To him, therefore," sc. Clodius: — *manendi nulla facultas*, "there was no possibility of remaining (in the city)." — 6. *Qui scire potuerit?* "How could he know?" — *quod vos idem, &c.*, "a question which you

cannot put in the case of Clodius:" — *quod* here refers to *qui scire potuerit* as its antecedent. — 7. *Ut enim*, "For although:" — *Lanuvini*, "the Lanuvians" (then at Rome). — 8. *Quæsierit sane*, "Suppose, if you will, that he did inquire:" — *servum corruerit*, "suppose that he did bribe a slave." Concessions made for the sake of argument only. B. § 45, iii. 4.—A. & S. § 260. ii., Rem. 3. — 10. *Legite testimonia*, &c., "Read the testimony of your own witnesses." This testimony was taken two or three days before. He refers to the testimony of C. Cassinius Schola, the value of which might be inferred from the fact of his testifying, that Clodius was at Interamna and at Rome (places 80 Roman miles apart) at the same hour. However, passing this, the witness *dixit*, "said:" — *P. Clodium illo die*, &c., "that P. Clodius on that day was to have remained at his country-seat near Alba, &c." On this testimony Cicero comments at length in the two following chapters, showing from it the truth of his main position, 'that Clodius lay in wait for Milo.'

XVIII.—1. *Quantæ res*, &c. "How important facts are proved by these testimonies," viz., that the return of Clodius to Rome, at the time referred to, was purely accidental, the effect of circumstances not known beforehand even by Clodius himself. Milo of course could not know of his return beforehand, could not expect to meet him there, and consequently could not intend to lie in wait for him. The same thing proves, contrary to the insinuations of Cicero's enemies, that he could have no concern in this affair. — 2. *Liberatur*, "is set free," "is proved innocent:" — *non profectus esse*; supply *probatum*, "he is proved not to have set out, &c.:" — *quippe* (used independently to corroborate the preceding statement), "undoubtedly," or, "this must be so." — 3. *In hac rogatione suadenda*, "In urging forward the bill for this trial." — 4. *Jacent suis testibus hi*, "These (men who speak thus) are prostrated (are refuted) by their own witnesses:" — *qui negant*, &c., "who testify that Clodius would not have returned to Rome, &c." — 5. *Nunc persequar cetera*, "I will now go on to other matters," scil., there being no occasion to argue that matter farther. — 6. *Nam occurrit illud*, "For that objection meets me." The witness referred to, stated that Clodius intended to remain at his Alban villa all night, if the death of Cyrus had not been suddenly and unexpectedly announced to him. The prosecution intended by this to prove that Clodius did not waylay Milo, as, but for this intelligence, he would have been at his villa, and not on the way to Rome. To this, Cicero replies by suggesting that the business of the messenger was probably far different; that, instead of announcing the

death of Cyrus, as was pretended, he hastened to announce the approach of Milo; whereupon, Clodius hastened forth to the intended attack. — 7. *Proficiscens*, "When he set out." B. § 146, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 274. 3. If Clodius left this man dying, the day before, as here stated, and in all probability never expected to see him again, the news of his death could neither be unexpected, nor call for his returning to Rome at such an unseasonable hour.

**XIX.—1.** *Age*, "Well then," thus used in transitions from one subject to another: — *sit ita factum*, "admitting that it was so," viz., that Clodius was informed by the messenger of the death of Cyrus—another concession for the sake of argument. — **2.** *Cur* (= *propter quod*) *properato opus esset*, "On account of which there was need of haste." B. § 118, Obs. 2.—A. & S. § 243, Rem. 1. *Cur*, in this sentence, is used not interrogatively, but as a relative. — **3.** *Amitteret autem*, i. e., *quod amitteret*. — **4.** *Illi*, "By him." B. § 126, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 225. iii.: — *sic Miloni . . . subsidendum*, &c., "so Milo ought to have stopped and waited for him." Construction of the dative as in preceding clause: — *quum insidiator esset*, "since he was the waylayer," i. e., as you allege. — **5.** *Insidioso*, "Dangerous," "suspicious." — **6.** *Nemo non*, "Every one,"—double negative. — **7.** *Sustinisset hoc crimen*, &c., "First of all, the very place being the haunt and receptacle of robbers, would have borne the blame." — **8.** *Deinde*, "Moreover," referring to *primum* above: — *bonis expulsi*, "plundered of their goods:" — *tota denique rea citaretur Etruria*, "in short, all Etruria would have been accused:" i. e., the men of Etruria who, having been harassed by Clodius (see Ch. IX. § 26), might seek their revenge by his death. — **9.** *Ad se = ad suam domum*, "To his house," lit., "to him." Compare the French *chez lui*. — **10.** *Quod ut sciret Milo*, "Though Milo might know this." (B. § 99, Obs. 8.) scil., *illum Aricie fuisse*. Aricia was a town of Latium, on the Apian way, about 60 stadia or nearly seven miles from Rome. — **11.** *Cur neque ante occurrit*, "Why did he neither meet him sooner, (scil., before he could reach Albanum), nor, &c." His not doing this may be considered as another argument to show that Milo did not lie in wait for Clodius. — **12.** *Video constare adhuc omnia*, "Thus far, judges, I see that all things are consistent," i. e., they concur in showing that Milo is innocent of this charge. In the close of this chapter, he recapitulates the leading arguments already adduced in support of his position: — *dissimulasse*, "concealed:" — *accessum ad urbem nocturnum*, "an approach to the city by night."

**XX.—1.** *Videamus nunc*, &c., "Let us now see, that which is a leading point, to which of the two was the place where they met more fit for an ambush." This he makes use of as another argument in favor of Milo; and against Clodius. — **2.** *Ante fundum Clodii*, "It was before (i. e., in front of) the estate of Clodius:" — *facile mille*, "at least a thousand:" — *edito adversarii atque excelso loco*, "the position of his opponent being elevated and lofty," i. e., a high rising ground: — *ipsius loci spe*, "with the hope of success from his very position." — **3.** *Quæ semper valet plurimum*, "And that always has great weight." — **4.** *Quid horum non impeditissimum?* "Which of these things was not a very great hindrance?" From the place where they met, he passes to the circumstances of each, and from these draws still another argument in support of his main position: — *quid minus promptum ad pugnam?* "What less prepared for an engagement (than Milo was)?" — **5.** *Videte nunc illum*, "Behold now that man" (Clodius). — **6.** *Tarde; qui convenit?* "Slowly; with what propriety?" — **7.** *Devertit in villam*, &c., "He turns aside to Pompey's villa; was it to see Pompey? he knew he was at Alsium"—a town of Etruria on the sea-coast near Cære, where probably Pompey had a country-seat. With *Alsiensi* supply *villa*. By these interrogatories he brings forward and refutes the various false pretences that might be made by the friends of Clodius, leaving only what is considered the true reason, viz, *mora et tergiversatio*, &c.

**XXI.—1.** *Expediti*, "Uncumbered," "ready for action," contrasted with *impeditis*. — **2.** *Convites Græculi*, "His attendants were paltry Greeks." The diminutive is used to express contempt. He refers to the Greek musicians, painters, mountebanks, &c., who usually accompanied him for his amusement. These were common in the families of the rich at Rome: — *castra Etrusca*, referring possibly to those predatory bands with which he was accustomed to harass Etruria, § 26; but more probably to his secretly favoring the designs of Catiline. Asconius tells us, he actually set out for the camp of Catiline at Fæsulæ, but before reaching it, changed his mind and returned: — *nugarum*, such as these *Græculi*. **3.** *Pucros symphonicos uxoris*, "His wife's music boys." Roman ladies also maintained great numbers of such, usually Greeks, and were attended by crowds of waiting maids abroad, as well as at home. — **4.** *Nisi ut virum*, &c., "Unless you might say that each man was chosen by his comrade." When Roman soldiers were sent on some dangerous expedition, they were allowed to choose each man his comrade. To this there seems to be an allusion here. — **5.** *Mulier*, "A woman," a term here contemptuously applied to Clodius, expressive of effeminacy and weak-

ness, contrasted with *viros*, applied to the servants of Milo. — 6. *Quantum interesset*, &c., ‘How much it was the interest of Clodius that he (Milo) should die.’ *Ille* is used loosely in this sentence. The first is the subject of *cogitat*, and refers to Milo. *Illi* and *ille* refer to Clodius: — *illi odio*; B. § 114, R. xix.—A. & S. § 327. — 7. *Quam maximis precæmiis*, &c., ‘Which he knew was set up and almost sold (given away) for the highest price,’ alluding to the practice of setting up goods at auction and selling them to the highest bidder. — 8. *Martemque communem*, ‘And the common chance of war:’ *qui sæpe spoliantem*, &c., ‘which has often overthrown the victor already seizing the spoil, &c.:’ — *et perculit ab abjecto*, ‘and driven him from his victim.’ — 9. *Pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis*, ‘Over-fed, drunken, listless leader:’ — *a tergo interclusum*, ‘separated,’ ‘cut off from his party:’ — *de ejus extrinæis comitibus*, ‘about his (Milo’s) attendants in the rear.’ Milo, it would appear, was at the head of his company; Clodius meeting him suffered him to pass, when his men thrust themselves between Milo and his followers and separated them. (This is the order of events presented here by Cicero; the common account, however, makes Milo’s followers the aggressors. See Introduction.) A conflict ensued, and the followers of Milo, having heard that he was killed, inflamed with anger, and despairing of his life, determined to be revenged. The party of Clodius was routed, and Clodius himself severely wounded; he was afterwards killed by order of Milo: — *hæsit in iis panis*, &c., ‘did not escape that punishment: lit. was entangled (stuck fast) in that punishment.’ The allusion is to a wild beast entangled in a net, from which it cannot escape.—Milo rewarded his slaves by giving them their liberty. His enemies represented this as a device of his, to prevent them from being examined by torture, and so testifying against him. — 10. *Metuebat, scilicet*, ‘He was afraid, forsooth.’ *Scilicet* indicates the irony of the sentence. In this way Cicero brings forward a wrong reason for the purpose of refuting it, as it was the reason alleged by Milo’s enemies. *Ne* after *metuo* = *ut*, and *ne non* = *ut non*. B. § 140, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 7. — 11. *Nihil ad tortorem*, ‘This belongs not to the torturer;’ i. e., the torturer has nothing to do with this question. — 12. *Facti enim*, &c., ‘For the investigation of a fact belongs to the rack—of its justice, to the judges.’ The *equuleus* was a wooden instrument resembling a horse (hence its name), on which slaves among the Romans were tortured to make them speak the truth—a method as absurd as it was inhuman. As then the only thing which the torture could elicit was the fact, and that was already confessed by Milo, Cicero argues Milo’s reason for manumitting his slaves could not be that alleged by his enemies. The true reason is stated and defended in the next chapter.

XXII.—1. *Manu vero cur miserit?* by tmesis, for *cur vero manumiserit?* — 2. *Nescis inimici factum reprehendere*, “You do not know how to find fault with the conduct of your enemy.” If you did, instead of blaming him for manumitting his slaves, you would blame him rather for not rewarding them more liberally. In support of this he introduces the opinion of M. Cato, now sitting on this trial, given by him on another occasion. — 3. *Propter quos*, “through whose means” = *per quos*. — 4. *Quos nisi manumisisset*, “But unless he had set them free:” — *defensores necis*, “the averters of his death.” This is the strict meaning of *defensor*. — 5. *Quam . . . esse tamen illis, &c.*, “Than that a deserved reward has nevertheless been conferred on them” (the slaves): — *etiamsi quid ipsi accidat*, “even if any thing (i. e., any calamity) should befall himself.” — 6. *Scd questiones, &c.*, “But (it is said) the examinations (viz., of slaves by torture) which are now going on in the hall of Liberty, bear hard on Milo; i. e., their testimony is strong against him.” The worthlessness of such testimony, and the injustice, because partiality, of such procedure, he exposes at the end of the chapter. But here, adroitly representing the guilt of Clodius as already proved, he intimates that if the slaves speak only the truth, instead of testifying against Milo, they will testify against their own master; which was contrary to the Roman laws, except in case of incest, in which Clodius was concerned before. This turn of course leads him to speak of Clodius, though dead, as if he were alive and on his trial; and it is moreover putting his death on a level with a violation of the mysteries of religion. — 7. *Ab Appio* = *ab* or *ex Appii domo*. See above, Ch. XIX., Note 9. — 8. *Proxime (ad) deos accessit Clodius, &c.*, “Clodius has made a very near approach to the gods (scil., in dignity), nearer than when he had penetrated to the gods themselves,” —referring to his violating the mysteries of *Bona dea* at Cæsar’s house. Here it will be noticed that *propius* is used in a double sense: — *tamquam*, “as;” the point of resemblance is, that in both, the slaves are made to testify against their master. — 9. *Noluerunt*, “Did not allow:” — *dominis morte ipsa tristius*, “worse to their masters than death itself.” — 10. *Age vero*, “But come.” He proceeds to exhibit the value of that testimony as against Milo, by a specimen of the examination itself. — 11. *Hæus tu, Rufio*, “Come forward, Rufio” (the name of a slave): — *verbi causa*, “for example:” — *cave sis mentiare*, “take care, if you please, that you do not lie.” *Næ* is often omitted before the subjunctive after *caveo*: — *sis*, a colloquial contraction for *si vis*. — 12. *Quid hac questione certius?* “What is more certain than such examination?” This question and the following are put ironically, meaning, “can any thing be less certain? less worthy of credit?”

**XXIII.—1.** *Quod si nondum satis cernitis*, “If you do not yet see this with sufficient clearness:” — *quum*, “although.” In this chapter Cicero proceeds to argue the innocence of Milo from his conduct after the rencontre with Clodius. — **2.** *Quæ fuerit celeritas*, “What was the speed:” — *qui* and *quæ*, the interrogative in the indirect question, “what.” — **3.** *Publicis præsiidiis et armis*, “To the guards armed for the public safety.” See Ch. I., § 2. *et armis*, by hendiadys, for *armatis*, B. § 150. 2. 2d.—A. & S. § 323. 2. (3): — *ejus potestati*, “to the power of him,” sc., Pompey: — *audienti*, “as he hears.” B. § 146, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 274. 3. — **4.** *In utramque partem*, “In either way,” i. e., whether innocent or guilty: — *ut*, “so that.” — **5.** *Sine certa ratione*, “Without good reason:” — *probata est*, “was approved:” see above, § 12. — **6.** *Facti rationem*, “The lawfulness of his conduct,” sc., in the circumstances, being in self-defence. — **7.** *Recenti illo nuntio necis Clodianæ* lit., “The news of the death of Clodius being recent” (B. § 146, Obs. 10.—A. & S. § 257, Rem. 7), i. e., “as soon as the death of Clodius was announced:” — *æquo animo*, “willingly.” — **8.** *Non dubitaturum . . . quin . . . cederet legibus*, “Would not hesitate to obey the laws:” — After *non dubitaturum, quin cederet* = *ut non cederet*, or more briefly *cedere*. B. § 140, 3.—A. & S. § 262, Rem. 10, 2. — **9.** *Multi etiam Catilinam, &c.*, “Many also began to talk of Catiline, and those monsters of depravity, sc., his associates:” — *erumpet*, i. e., *dicens erumpet*, “(saying) he will break out.” — **10.** *Miseros interdum cives, &c.*, “How wretched sometimes are those citizens who have deserved best of the State.” In exclamations, the accusative is used with or without an interjection; *heu* is here understood. — **11.** *Quæ certe vera exstitissent*, “But they certainly would have proved true:” — *si Milo admisisset aliquid*, “if Milo had done any thing.”

**XXIV.—1.** *Quæ postea, &c.*: arrange and supply, *ut sustinuit (ea crimina) quæ postea, &c.*, “How (nobly) he bore those calumnies which were afterwards heaped upon him!” — *conscientia*, “under a consciousness;” abl. of cause: — *nocens*, “a guilty man.” — **2.** *Multitudo . . . posse indicabatur*, “It was whispered that a great number, &c., could.” A more common form of expression is, *multitudinem . . . posse, &c.*, depending on *indicabatur*, used impersonally, as here translated. B. § 145, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 271, Rem. 2: — *non Miloni conducta esset domus*, “a house had not been hired by Milo.” B. § 126, R. xxxiii: — *in villam Oericulanam*, “to his villa at Oericulum,”—a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber: — *devecta* strictly means, “carried down:” but if the arms referred to were supposed to be carried from Rome, it must



here be understood in a general sense, without regard to the direction, Oriculum being above Rome. — 3. *Nec ante repudiata sunt*, &c., "Nor were they disbelieved, till after investigation had been made." — 4. *Cui etiam fuerit audiendus*, &c., "By whom some paltry priest from the Circus Maximus must be listened to (saying)." The *popæ* were men of the lower order, commonly freedmen, employed in slaying and dressing the sacrifices, of which they had the fragments as their perquisites. They sometimes kept a sort of restaurants, or victualing shops (*popinæ*) which were frequented by the lower class about the circus. The expression *nescio qui*, "some," denoting insignificance, presents him in stronger contrast with Pompey: — *ab uno de illis = uno illorum*, B. § 107, Obs. 8. — A. & S. § 212, Rem. 2, Note 4. — 5. *De amicorum sententia*, "By the advice of his friends." — 6. *Credi popæ*, "That credit should be given to such a priest." — 7. *Ut intelligo*, "As I understand it." This clause is parenthetic, and does not affect the construction of the rest of the sentence: — *cavebat*, "guarded against." — 8. *Oppugnata (esse) domus nuntiabatur*, same construction as above, Note 2: — *tam celebri loco*, Cæsar lived near the forum, in a large house in the *via sacra*, which was the principal street in Rome. — 9. *Timidum (esse)*, "Was timid:" — *diligentiam . . . nimiam nullam*, "that no diligence was too great." — 10. *Ut . . . res ipsa loqueretur*, dependent on *nudavit se*, "That (in order that) the thing itself might speak."

XXV.—1. *Quum tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo*, "And yet even now Milo is feared," i. e., even though these calumnies have been proved to be false, yet, &c. — 2. *Hoc Clodianum crimen*, "This accusation for the murder of Clodius." Cicero here intimates that he had no apprehensions from Milo from this affair itself, but from the fears and suspicions of Pompey. Whether these were real or pretended, it appears from the account of Asconius that he acted as if he considered himself in danger. To remove these suspicions is the aim of the orator in this chapter: — *tuas—tuas*, repeated to render it emphatic. — 3. *Aut molitum (esse) aliquando aliquid*, "Or has ever attempted any thing" (scil., against your life, as Clodius did). — 4. *Ut nonnulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt*, "As some of your agents have been constantly repeating." *Dictito* is a double frequentative. B. § 88, Obs. 2. — 5. *In hoc . . . . . indicantur*, "Are shown to be in him" (Milo): — *præstantissimus dux*, scil., Pompey. — 6. *Ægras et labantes*, "Feeble and wavering," to which correspond *sanares* and *confirmares*, respectively. — *neminem unquam hominem*, &c. (= *nullum unquam hominem*). This failure was in consequence of an interview with Pompey having been refused. To this there

is reference above. *Si locus Miloni datus esset*, "if opportunity, &c." — 7. *Cum illa ipsa teterrima peste*, lit., "With that same most horrid pest (of his country)," scil., Clodius: — *tribunatum suum*, &c., "that his tribuneship was guided by your counsels to effect my safety;" referring to his recall from exile through the efforts of Pompey and Milo: — *in periculo capitis*, "when in danger of life." *Caput*, in this expression, means either natural or civil life. Of this *deminutio capitis*, there were three degrees. When a person lost life or liberty, it was called *deminutio maxima*. When he was deprived of citizenship and sentenced to exile, it was called *deminutio media*. And when a person retained liberty and citizenship, and lost his family by adoption or marriage, it was called *deminutio minima*. *In periculo capitis*, here means *in periculo deminutionis capitis mediae*, "in danger of exile." — 8. *Adjutum in petitione præturae*, "That he was assisted by you when he was candidate for the prætorship." This assistance refers to his influence and his vote: — *te—me*, accusatives in apposition with *duos*. — 9. *Quæ si non probaret*, "If he failed to prove these things," scil., the things mentioned above: — 10. *Cessisset patria*, "Would have left his country," scil., by going into exile. — 11. *Te tamen antestaretur*, "Thee, nevertheless, he would have called upon to witness," scil., that he had not used unlawful violence: — *quod* refers to *antestaretur*.

XXVI.—1. *Ratio*, "The course:" — *quam ad tempus apte simulationes*, "disguises how suited to the time:" — *quantæ in periculis fugæ proximorum*, "what desertions of nearest friends in time of danger." — 2. *Erit, erit*, &c. This language is almost prophetic of the future lot of Pompey, which illustrates as fully as can be done the preceding sentiment: *quam sit varia*, &c. — 3. *Salutaribus, ut spero, rebus tuis*, "Your fortunes, as I hope, still prosperous:" — *experti scire debemus*, "having tried (i. e., from experience) we ought to know:" — *unius post homines natos fortissimi viri*, "of the bravest man that ever lived." — 4. *Quamquam quis credat hoc?* "And yet who can believe this?" namely, *Cn. Pompeium*, &c.; *hoc* refers to what follows: — *quo uno versiculo*, &c., "by which brief sentence, the consuls have always been sufficiently armed (viz., by the authority with which it clothed them), even though arms were not put into their hands:" — *hunc*, after intervening clauses, resumes *Cn. Pompeium* as the subject of *expectaturum fuisse*, "that he, &c., should wait for the end of this trial in defending the measures of a man (Clodius) who would by violence abolish all trials." Such was the representation of Milo's enemies, a course so unworthy of Pompey, that Cicero says: *quis hoc credat?* — 5. On the contrary.

*Satis judicatum est*, &c., "It has been sufficiently decided by Pompey, yes, sufficiently, that these charges of yours (addressing himself to the accusers, as *ista* denotes) have been brought falsely against Milo." The repetition of *satis* renders it emphatic. This he has decided, in procuring a law for an investigation; whereas, had he thought him guilty, he could have punished him by his own authority: — *qua . . . . . liceret*, "by which (law), as I think, Milo ought to be, and, as all acknowledge, might be lawfully acquitted." — 6. *Quod vero*, "But inasmuch as:" — *contra hesternam illam concionem*, "notwithstanding that riotous assembly of yesterday." F. Munatius Plancus, after the testimony of witnesses had been taken the day before, called together an assembly of the partisans of Clodius, urged them to shut their shops, attend at the trial next day, and not suffer Milo to escape. See above, Chapter II., at the beginning.

XXVII.—1. *Si jam nollem ita diluere crimen*, &c., "If I had not refuted the accusation, as I have done." The design in this chapter seems to be to produce an impression in Milo's favor by presenting the infamous character of Clodius in full view: — *mentiri gloriose*, "to say with boasting, though not with truth," as follows. — 2. *Non Sp. Mælium*. See I. Or. in Cat., Ch. I., Note 19: — *nimis amplecti*, "too much to court:" — *Ti. Gracchum*, see as above, Note 17: — *quorum*, "of whom," scil., Sp. Mælius and Tib. Gracchus: — *interfectores*, viz., Servilius Ahala, and Scipio Nasica: — *auderet enim dicere*, "for he might say it boldly:" — *quum*, "since." — 3. *Cujus nefandum adulterium*, referring to the affair at Cæsar's house, when in female attire, for a wicked purpose, he violated the mysteries of *Bona dea*. See as above, Ch. V., Note 6. — 4. *Quem cum sorore germana*, &c., lit., "Whom L. Lucullus, on his oath, said he had, after full examination, discovered to have committed incest with his own sister," i. e., whose incest with his own sister, L. Lucullus, &c.—This sister of Clodius was the wife of L. Lucullus, who discovered her infidelity on his return from the third Pontic war, and repudiated her. In this investigation, her slaves were examined by torture: — *qui civem*, &c., arrange, *qui armis servorum exterminavit civem quem*, &c., meaning Cicero himself; and the reference is to his suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline. — 5. *Civem domum vi et armis*, &c., "By force and arms drove to his house a citizen," namely, Pompey. — 6. *Eodem Nympharum incendit*. The nymphs presiding over the fountains, had a temple erected to them at Rome to propitiate their favor in preventing burnings. In this, as supposed to be secure against fire, were laid up the registers of the censors, which

contained some records not favorable to Clodius. For the purpose of destroying these, it is here said, he set fire to the temple. This happened in the disturbances prior to the exile of Cicero. — 7. *Cui jam nulla lex erat*, "To whom now there was no law," i. e., "who now regarded no law:" — *non calumnia litium*, &c., "not by the quirks of lawsuits, not by unjust claims, &c." — 8. *Janiculo et Alpibus*, "By mount Janiculum (on the south) and the Alps (on the north)." This territory embraced the whole of northern Italy. — 9. *In alieno (agro)*, "On another man's property." If a man built on another man's property knowingly, he forfeited the building. But Clodius set all laws at defiance, and intended to wrest the property by force from its lawful owner. — 10. *Qui huic T. Furfanio*. &c., supply, *ausus est dicere* from the next clause, and arrange thus: *qui ausus est dicere huic T. Furfanio*, "Who had the impudence to say to T. Furfanius here present:" — *Cui viro!* "to what a man!" an exclamation appended to attract particular attention: — *nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent*, "if they did not give up to him the possession of their gardens." *Cedo*, used transitively in the active voice, governs the accusative of the thing (*possessionem*). Here it is used intransitively, and may be rendered literally. Unless they retired from the possession of their gardens for him (i. e., in his favor): — *sed ausus est*, &c. After this long parenthesis, he resumes and partly repeats the sentence begun before at *qui huic*: — *mortuum*, "a dead body:" — 11. *Qua invidia*, &c., "By the odium of which, a blaze of indignation must have been kindled against such a man as this." — 12. *Omni aditu et limine*, "Of all access and entrance."

**XXVIII.—1.** *Quamquam hæc*, "And yet these things," scil., mentioned in the preceding chapter, and which he actually committed against individuals. In this chapter, he sets forth those outrages he intended against the state, and which were prevented only by his death, the praise of which is due to Milo: — *tolerabilia*, "tolerable," i. e., compared with the mischief he meditated. — 2. *Sed nescio quomodo*, "But in some way:" — *obduruerat et percalluerat*, "had become perfectly hardened and callous." — 3. *Quæ vero aderant*, &c. The relative usually stands first, when the antecedent word, as here, is a demonstrative (*ea*). — 4. *Omitto*, "I pass by," i. e., "I say nothing of:" — *vota enim faceretis*, "for it would be your earnest prayer," lit., "for you would earnestly pray:" — *medius fidius*, a strong asseveration, a sort of oath. See *Or. pro Marcello*, Ch. III., Note 7. — 5. *Fingi hæc*, "That these things are fictions:" — *quæ tenentur* (scil., *memoria*), "which are remembered." — 6. *Servorum exercitus*, &c., "That he was to raise

armies of slaves." Among the Romans a slave was not permitted to be enrolled in the army. Such armies, then, as it is here said, Clodius intended to raise, would be of the most degraded character. — 7. *Cruentum gladium*, scil., with which he is supposed to have slain Clodius: — *adeste*, "draw near." — 8. *Per me ut*, &c. Arrange: *Ut per me unum jus*, &c., "That by me alone justice, &c." — 9. *Esset vero timendum (Miloni)*, "Milo truly would have to fear!" ironically. — 10. *Qui non . . . . . et dicat et sentiat*, &c., "Who does not both say and think that T. Annii alone, &c.:" — *plurimum*, used adverbially. — 11. *Summorum imperatorum*, referring to Marius and Sulla: — *neque — nec*, "either—or." For this usage, instead of "neither—nor," see B. § 134, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 277, Rem. 5. — 12. *In iis singulis*, scil., *bonis*, "In each one of these:" — *hoc ipso summo viro*, scil., Pompey. — 13. *Qui . . . . . arbitretur*, "As to think." B. § 141, Rule ii.—A. & S. § 264. 1. — 14. *Ea que tenetis*, &c. Arrange: *Quod jus perpetue possessionis potuissent ea habere que tenetis, privata atque vestra*, "What right of lasting possession could those things have which you now hold as private, and your own (i. e., as your own private property), if this madman were in power?"

**XXIX.**—1. *Ne odio mearum inimicitiarum*, "That inflamed by hatred arising from my own hostility." Genitive subjective, B. § 106, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 2: — *hæc in illum evomere*, "to bring these charges against him," lit., "to spew out," a term as expressive of their character, as of the feeling with which they were brought: — *libentius, quam verius*. B. § 120, Obs. 6.—A. & S. § 256, Rem. 12. This principle is applicable to adverbs as well as adjectives. — 2. *Etsi (odium meum) precipuum esse debebat*, "Although my resentment ought to be especially great," viz., on account of the injuries he had suffered from him:—he had himself been driven into exile, his brother nearly killed, his family persecuted, his property confiscated, and his house burned, all through means of Clodius: — *in communi odio*, &c., "was almost on a level with (i. e., scarcely exceeded) the common hatred." — 3. *Quin sic attendite*, "But attend to this:" — *nempe hæc est questio*, "for indeed this is a trial." To carry higher the odium against Clodius from his infamous character, he asks them to suppose he were restored to life, and think what then their prospects would be. — 4. *Ut ea cernimus que videmus*, "As we perceive (in our minds) those things which we see" (with our eyes). — 5. *Quid vultu extimivistis?* "Why that expression of fear in your countenances?" — *quos mortuus*, &c., lit., "whom he, being dead, hath struck (with terror) when you only thought of him,"

i. e., "the bare thought of whom, though dead, hath struck you" (with terror). — 6. *Si is potuisset aut quæstionem*, &c., "If he could either bring on an inquiry concerning the death of Clodius, or raise him from the dead, which of the two do you think he would do?" — 7. *Cujus vitam si putetis*, &c., "And if you thought his life," &c.: — *qui si eadem lege*, &c., "if by the same law he could return to life," &c. In both these sentences the relative clause is connected with the antecedent, not by the relative pronoun, but by *si*; hence the office of the relative, as a connective, being superseded, it is rendered by the personal pronoun. B. § 99, Obs. 8. — 8. *Quas res divinas*, "What ceremonies." — 9. *Prope ad immortalitatis et religionem*, &c., "They are consecrated almost to both the religious veneration and remembrance of immortality," i. e., which is due to the immortal gods. — 10. *Quod esset ei non confitendum modo*, &c., "Which ought to be not only confessed, but openly proclaimed by him."

**XXX.**—1. *Ex quo*, "For which," scil., his slaying Clodius in self-defence: — *quam vestri*, "than of you." *Vestri*, gen. pl. of *tu*. — 2. *Vobis non probaretur*, "Were not approved by you:" — *qui*, "how:" — *minus—grata cecidisset*, "had proved displeasing." — 3. *Nam quid esset ingratus*, "For what could be more ungrateful;" i. e., "show more ingratitude." *Nam*, introduces a reason for using the term *ingrata*: — *propter quem*, applied to persons = *per quem*, "through whom," i. e., "through whose means." — 4. *Nostram quoque (esse)*, "To be ours also." — 5. *Si id*, &c. Arrange: *Si, quum conabar, arbitrarer me ausurum esse (facere) id sine maximis*, &c., referring to his suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline. — 6. *Proposita invidia*, &c., "When odium, &c., are set before him." B. § 146, Obs. 9.—A. & S. § 257, Rem. 1: — *nihilo segnius*, "with equal alacrity." — 7. *Qua Ahala (usus esset)*, "Which Ahala might have made," and so of the others. See *Or. in Cat.*, Ch. I., Notes 17, 18, 19. See also above, Ch. III., Note 5. — 8. *Conscientia sua niteretur*, "He would be supported by (lit., rest upon) his own consciousness of right." — 9. *Hujus beneficii gratiam . . . . . sibi deberi*, "That gratitude for this favor (scil., putting Clodius to death) is due to him." — 10. *Nisi qui nullam vim (divinam)*, &c., "Unless one who thinks there is no overruling power, or divine providence."—Here *divinum* qualifies *vim* as well as *numen*, but agrees with the last. B. § 98, Obs. 4.—A. & S. § 205, Exe. to Rem. 2. Cicero represents the death of Clodius as a kind interposition of providence, rather than as the act of Milo;—*qui* and *quem*, have the same antecedent—*qui sacra*; *qui* has for its antecedent *majorum*.

**XXXI.**—1. *Est, est profecto illa vis*, "There is, there is indeed such a power:" — *et non inest*, &c., "and there is not (i. e., "without its being"), in this," &c. The argument is from the less to the greater: thus, If there is such an active and thinking principle in our bodies, &c., much more does it exist in this so great and glorious system of nature. — 2. *Nisi forte idcirco non putant*, "Unless perhaps any think it does not exist for this reason:" — *quia*, &c. — 3. *Ea vis igitur ipsa*, "That then is the very power, which, &c.:" — *cui primum mentem injecit*, "first inspired him (Clodius) with the purpose:" — *ut . . . . . audiret*, &c. — 4. *Ne mediocri quidem . . . . . cura*, "Nor even by any ordinary care." — 5. *Religiones ipsæ*, "Our sacred places themselves." *Religio*, taken objectively, means any object of veneration, such as temples, altars, ceremonies, or even the gods themselves. The next sentence shows that the reference here is to places and objects regarded with veneration: — *commovisse se*, "to have bestirred themselves," i. e., "to have been interested." There is here a sort of personification, investing the objects referred to with life and intelligence: — *et jus in illo suum retinuisse*, "and to have vindicated their rights in (punishing) him." — 6. *Albani tumuli atque luci* (the *religiones* of the preceding sentence), "Ye Alban mounds and groves." Alba Longa, one of the most ancient cities of Latium, was situated about twenty miles from Rome. Here Clodius had a villa or summer residence, in erecting or improving which, he had cut down the groves, leveled the mounds and altars, consecrated to the worship of their gods, who are here represented by Cicero as taking vengeance on Clodius for his profane violation of sacred places. — 7. *Sacrorum populi Romani*, &c., "The companions and partners of the rites of the Roman people." The forms of Roman worship were first derived from Alba (Livy, I., 7), and when that city was utterly destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, and the people removed to Rome, they continued to observe their own rites and modes of worship. Hence the Alban altars are here called *sociæ et æquales*: — *Substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat*, "had buried with the mad piles of his buildings." Ch. XX., § 53. — 8. *Vestrae tum, aræ, vestrae religiones*, "Your ceremonies, O altars, your rites then flourished" (namely, when Clodius fell): — *Latiaris sancte Jupiter*, "O venerable Jupiter Latiaris." In order to keep the Latin association firm to their engagement to him, Tarquinius Superbus erected a new temple in the midst of them to Jupiter Latiaris, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, where the united cantons met annually on the 27th April, jointly offered sacrifices to Jupiter as the guardian of the Latin league, and feasted together in token of their union. This festival was called *feriæ Latinae*: — *lucus*, acc.

pl. used oratorically for *lacum*. The Alban lake, at the foot of mount Alba, was a beautiful sheet of water six or seven miles in circumference. — 9. *Vobis illæ, vobis vestro, &c.*, "To you, to you and in your presence, was that atonement, late, but nevertheless just and proper, paid." In sight of these Clodius met his death. — 10. *Hoc etiam casu factum esse*, "That this also happened by chance," namely, *ut ante ipsum, &c.* That such a remarkable coincidence should be the result of chance, and not brought about by an overruling providence, Cicero considers absurd: — *ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario videretur*, "that it might appear he was not acquitted by that infamous decree (viz., when tried for violating the mysteries of the *Bona dea*), but was reserved for this signal punishment." See III. Or. in Cat., Ch. VIII., Note 2.

XXXII.—1. *Nec vero non = et etiam*, the two negatives being equivalent to an affirmative: — *hanc amentiam . . . . . ut*, "such madness, that," B. § 31, Obs. 2: — *cui cedere etiam inimici solent*, "which even enemies are accustomed to respect." — 2. *Fas*, "The will of the gods:" — *clarissimorum virorum formas*, meaning the images (*imagines*), just mentioned; also see above, Ch. XIII., Note 2. The ancestors of Clodius were distinguished for their rank and character: — *mortem ejus*, "that his dead body," &c. *Mortem* figuratively for *mortuum*, to correspond with *vita* in the next clause. Dropping the figure, the meaning is, "that he could not be torn to pieces as he was, in a more proper place, when dead, than where he had been so often condemned, when alive," viz., in the forum. — 3. *Mihi . . . . . videbatur*, "Did seem to me." The asseveration *medius fidius* renders *videbatur* emphatic, "did seem." Or. for Marcellus, Ch. III., Note 7. — 4. *Pollnerat stupro*, referring again to the infamous ease at Cæsar's house. Cicero here accumulates the flagitious acts of Clodius, most of which were mentioned before, that it might be seen, a man of such a character was a fit object for the vengeance of the gods, of which Milo was only the instrument. — 5. *Omnium ordinum consensu . . . . . gestic*. Catiline's accomplices were put to death, not by Cicero's authority alone, but by a general vote of the senate after full discussion, and yet Clodius pretended it was illegal, and got a law passed 'that whoever had taken the life of a Roman citizen uncondemned and without trial, should be prohibited from fire and water.' This was aimed at Cicero and effected his exile. — 6. *Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum, &c.* See above, Ch. VII., § 18 19. — *capere ejus amentiam*, "restrain his madness." — 7. *Invidebantur* 'Were engraved.' Laws were engraved on brass after they were passed; but Clodius had engraved beforehand the laws he intended to



have passed, when he should come into the magistracy. This effrontery was surpassed only by the character of these laws themselves:—laws — *quæ nos servis nostris addicerent*, “which were to subject us to our slaves.” See above, Ch. XII., Note 7: — *hoc anno*, “this year.” Clodius expected to be elected prætor this year. — 8. *Illum ipsum*, &c., “He thought that the only person who could oppose him (scil., Pompey), was in a measure bound to him by the recent return to friendship:” — *suam esse*, “was his own,” i. e., “was devoted to his interests.”

XXXIII.—1. *Hic*, “Here,” i. e., “in this situation of affairs:” — *huic*, scil., for Milo: — 2. *Senatus credo*, &c., “The senate, I suppose, would have restrained him.”—Spoken with a sort of irony; for though the senate had the legal authority, in many cases, it was difficult to exercise it in this way. — 3. *Ne quum solebat quidem id facere*, &c., “Not even when it was accustomed to do this (viz., restrain the magistrates) had it succeeded to any extent with this same person in a private capacity.” — 4. *Suos*, “His own,” i. e., in his interest, or under his influence. — 5. *Virtutem consularem*, “That the consular dignity,” i. e., “That a man with consular authority,” meaning himself. — 6. *Lege nova*. See preceding Chapter, Note 7: — *servos nostros libertos suos fecisset*, “he would have made our slaves his freed men.” A freed man was called *libertus*, in relation to the person who made him free,—*libertinus*, in relation to all others. The statement here made is a sort of oratorical exaggeration. For the law here referred to, see above, Ch. XII., Note 7. The effect of this law would be to give him an influence with the *libertini*, as their pretended friend or patron, similar to that which the *patronus* had with his *libertus*, and which he would no doubt use to advance his own schemes. This is all that can be meant here. — 7. *An ille prætor*, &c.? “Would he as prætor, would he really as consul?” — *ille denique vivus . . . . . fecisset*, &c.? — 8. *Quo*, “Than this,” viz., *templum sanctitatis*, &c., “that the temple of holiness, dignity, wisdom, &c.,” meaning the senate house: — *funes-tari*, “(should be) polluted,” scil., with his body. — 9. *Neque id fieri a multitudine imperita*, &c., “And that that should be done not by an ignorant rabble, but by one;” namely, Sex. Clodius: — *qui quum tantum*, &c., “And since he, as corpse burner for him dead, acted so daring a part, what, &c.?” — 10. *Et sunt, qui*, “And some who complain grievously about the Appian way (i. e., about the slaying of Clodius there), say nothing about the senate house (which was burned by his kinsmen).” — 11. *Et qui putent*, &c.? “And how do they suppose,

&c.?" — **12.** *Nisi vero sustinuistis*, "Unless indeed you restrained,"—ironically, for they did not restrain them: — *ad Castoris*, scil., *templum*. B. § 106, Obs. 3.—A. & S. § 211, Rem. 7. — **13.** *Quum audiretur silentio*, &c. Render actively, "When they were listening attentively to M. Cœlius, &c. When M. Cœlius, a friend of Milo, heard of the death of Clodius, he assembled his friends, and was explaining to them the circumstances that led to this event, when he was attacked by the tribunes Planeus and Q. Pompey, and the assembly dispersed. — **14.** *Et in hac Milonis*. Arrange: *Et divina et incredibili fide* ("of divine and incredible fidelity"), *in hac sive invidia sive singulari fortuna Milonis*.

**XXXIV.—1.** *Scd jam satis multa (dicta sunt)*, "But now enough has been said on this cause:" — *extra causam*, "without the cause," i. e., not strictly belonging to it, or in the way of digression. Cicero here commences his peroration, in which his object is, in view of all that has been said, to move the feelings of the judges in favor of Milo. In this part of his orations, Cicero was eminently skilful and effective. — **2.** *Ego*, i. e., *quam ego*: — *in nostro omnium fletu* = *in omnium nostrum fletu*, "whilst all of us are in tears." As a possessive pronoun, in any case, is equivalent to the genitive of the substantive pronoun, an adjective qualifying it may be put in the genitive case. B. § 30, Obs. 1.—A. & S. § 205, Rem. 13: — *nolite . . . hoc minus ei parcere*, "do not spare him less on this account." — **3.** *Haud scio, an multo*, &c., "Perhaps he ought much more to be aided" (by it, scil., his intrepidity and firmness). *Haud scio, an*, expresses uncertainty inclining to the affirmative. — **4.** *Eorumque nos magis miseret*, &c., "And we show compassion to those who do not ask our pity, rather than to those who, &c." Gladiators, who manifested skill and courage, were by the order of the spectators often saved; whereas those who showed symptoms of cowardice or fear of death, were, by the same authority, ordered to be dispatched, and both intimations were given by a well-known signal. See Adam's Rom. Antiq., "Gladiators." — **5.** *Cedam atque abibo*, "I will withdraw and depart into exile." Milo, however, was not quite voluntary in this matter, for it is certain he did not go till he was compelled: — *at carebo mala*, "at least, I will be free from (i. e., I will not live in) a bad one:" — *bene moratam*, "well-regulated." — **6.** *Quem acceperam exstinctum*, "Which I had found (almost) destroyed." The datives *equitibus* and *viris* depend on *dedissem*. — **7.** *Putarem?* "Could I think?" — **8.** *Ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, tui?* The language of Milo to

Cicero, "Where are those knights, those Roman knights of thine?" Cicero was of equestrian extraction, and was on the most friendly terms with the equites; to both of these things, the word *tui* here refers: — *ubi Italia voccs?* "where are the acclamations of (all) Italy" (which welcomed your return)? — 9. *Mihine ea soli, &c.?* "To me alone can it bring no assistance—me who have so often exposed myself to death for thee?"

XXXV.—1. *Negat.* The repetition of this word renders it emphatic = "He denies positively." — 2. *Plebem et infimam multitudinem, &c.,* "The common people, and the lowest of the rabble, which, under the direction of P. Clodius, constantly threatened your fortunes—these, that your life might be more safe, he says he not only moved by his power, but, &c.:" — *que . . . imminebat.* The indicative here shows that this clause is not repeated by Cicero as the language of Milo, but is a remark thrown in by Cicero himself for explanation, B. § 141, Obs. 5. 1st.—A. & S. § 266, Rem. 5: — *eam,* governed by *flecteret,* and substitute of *plebem, &c.,* is used to bring back *plebem, &c.,* after the intervening clause, into closer contact with the verb: — *se fecisse . . . ut flecteret,* a periphrasis = *se flexisse,* lit., "that he effected to move," i. e., "that he moved," B. § 145, Obs. 5. 2d.—A. & S. § 273. 1. — 3. *Nec timet, ne,* "Nor did he fear, that." — 4. *Vestras vero et vestrorum ordinum occurrantiones . . . secum se ablaturum, &c.,* "That he would carry with him (scil., in his memory, i. e., the remembrance of) the attentions, &c., of yourselves, and of your orders." For connecting a genitive with a possessive pronoun in another case, see B. § 30, Obs. 1. Also above, Ch. XXXIV. Note 2, with references. — 5. *Vocem sibi præconis, &c.,* "That the proclamation of the herald only was wanting to him." The election had gone so far as to show that Milo was elected; but before formal proclamation of the fact was made, the comitia were broken up by the partisans of Clodius. The choice of the people, however, was as fully ascertained as if proclamation had been made, and the want of this formality was to him a matter of little consequence. — 6. *Si hæc contra se sint futura,* "If these (proceedings) shall prove to be against him:" — *suspicionem,* subject of *obstare,* and the whole clause depending on *inquit, putat,* or the like, understood. — 7. *Sequi,* "To seek after," "to aim at." — 8. *Qui beneficio civis suos vicerint,* "Who have surpassed their fellow-citizens in well-doing," i. e., whose services have been greater than any rewards they have received. — 9. *Si esset habenda ratio præmiorum,* "If any respect ought to be paid to rewards:" — *gloriam,* i. e., *putat gloriam, &c.:* — *posteritatis memoria,* "by the grateful remembrance

of future ages:" — *ut absentes*, "that though absent:" — *mortui*, "though dead:" — *hanc denique esse*, scil., *gloriam*, "that this in short was the glory." — 10. *Nulla vetustas*, "No age however remote." — 11. *Quum omnes*, &c., arrange: *Quum omnes faces subjiciantur meæ invidiæ a meis inimicis*, "Though all means (lit., torches) are employed by my enemies to kindle a flame of odium against me." — 12. *Omitto Etruriæ festos . . . dies*, &c., "To say nothing of the festival days of Etruria already celebrated, and appointed to be celebrated." The people of Etruria, long harassed by Clodius, grateful for the deliverance brought to them by his death, instituted festivals in commemoration of the event. — 13. *Centesima lux est et altera*, "Is the hundred and second day:" — *qua*, "from which," i. e., "since." — 14. *Ubi corpus hoc sit, non laboro*, "I care not where this body is," "how it is disposed of."

XXXVI.—1. *Hæc tu mecum sæpe*, "These things (just mentioned) you have often said to me:" — *hæc ego tecum*, "these (which follow) I will now say to you." — 2. *Sed ne hunc quidem ipsum (tantum inuretis)*, "But you will not inflict even this to such a degree:" — *ut obliviscar quanti*, &c., "that I can forget how much you have always esteemed me." B. § 122, R. xxviii.—A. & S. § 214. — 3. *Quæ . . . si oblivio*, lit., "If this forgetfulness," i. e., "if forgetfulness of this thing," scil., *quanti me semper feceritis*, see above, Ch. XXIX. Note 7: — *si in me aliquid offendistis*, "if you have taken any offence at me:" — *meo capite . . . quam Milonis*, see preceding chapter, Note 4. — 4. *Si quid mihi acciderit*, a euphemism for *si me vis aliqua oppresserit*: meaning, "If I should die." — 5. *Inimicitias potentium*, "The resentment of the great," such as Pompey and the Clodians. — 6. *In communionem tuorum temporum*, "To share your fortunes." — 7. *Si qua dimicatio capitis futura (sit) deponso*, "If there is to be any perilous contest, I demand it still," namely, to share your fortunes. — 8. *Aut . . . occasura esse videatis*, "Or that you may understand, they will be canceled forever by his destruction."

XXXVII.—1. *Sed hic ea mente (est)*, "But he has that (nobleness of) mind:" — *quid vos?* supply *censetis*. — 2. *Dignior . . . qui hanc virtutem excipiat*, "More worthy to receive this virtue," i. e., "this excellent man." B. § 141, Obs. 2. 1st.—A. & S. § 264. 9. — 3. *Fortissimi viri . . . centuriones . . . milites*. Cicero here appeals not to the judges directly, but to the brave men present, the centurions and soldiers placed as an armed guard around the forum, and within hearing: — *expelletur*, &c.,

Observe the climax in these words. — 4. *Per hos*, “Through these,” scil., *viros, centuriones, milites*. — 5. *Mene non potuisse, &c.?* The infinitive with its subject, especially in abrupt interrogations expressive of strong feeling, is often used without a governing word, but dependent on something understood; as, *possibile est, credibile est, &c.*, thus here, “Is it possible?”—“will it be believed that I could not secure the safety of Milo, &c.?” or, we may supply *respondebo*, used interrogatively, from the preceding clause. B. § 145, Obs. 7.—A. & S. § 270, Rem. 2. — 6. *Quæ est grata, i. c., (In causa) quæ est grata gentibus*, “In a cause which is approved by all.” This is said in reply to the preceding interrogation. In this sentence, the readings are various. The common text here given is preferred to that of Madvig, which at best is conjectural. — 7. *Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut, &c.*, “Of what so great wickedness was I guilty, or, &c.?”—the question is repeated in terms nearly synonymous, to render it more emphatic. *Scelus* means a base or wicked act; *facinus*, a bold or daring one, generally in a bad sense, as here. — 8. *Indicia . . . indagavi, &c.* Observe the climax in these verbs—also that *indicia*, the object of the other verbs, cannot be the object of *extinxi*, with which, of course, *semina, vim*, or some other word in accordance with the sense, must be supplied. The reference is to the conspiracy of Catiline. — 9. *Ex fonte illo*, “From that source.” Cicero here represents all the calamities which he suffered as having their origin in the part he took in crushing this conspiracy.

XXXVIII.—1. *Utinam dii immortales fecissent*, “Would that the immortal gods had caused.” The sentence thus begun is here suspended by the parenthesis following, and is resumed after it in a different form. This is quite common after the sense has been interrupted by a long parenthesis. — 2. *Pace tua, patria, dixerim*, “May I have spoken it, my country, without offence:” — *pie*, “with affectionate regard.” — 3. *Fortem et . . . conservandum virum!* “How brave a man, and worthy to be preserved!” In exclamations, the nominative, accusative, or vocative, is often used without an interjection. — 4. *Minime, minime*. Here Cicero represents Milo as making opposition to these appeals for his safety, and expressing his readiness to suffer anything himself, however undeserved, since Clodius had met with his deserts, and his country was delivered from his depredations. — 5. *Patriæ natus*, “Born to save his country:” — *aut, si forte, pro patria*, “or if perchance (elsewhere, at least) for his country.” — 6. *Animi monumenta*, in antithesis with *corporis sepulchrum*. Persons banished lost their citizenship, and were denied burial in

Italy. — 7. *Quem . . . expulsam a vobis*, &c., “Whom, when expelled by you, every city will invite to itself.” — 8. *Ut in sententiis ferendis*, &c., “That in giving your votes, you would dare to act as you think;” lit., “to do that which you shall think (is right).” This he says professing his confident belief, that after what had been said, there could not be a doubt in their minds Milo ought to be acquitted—that such a decision, their virtue, justice, and fidelity required; and it was one which, he assured them, Pompey would most cordially approve.

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